

ESSAYS

Part II.

BY

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To

My dear nephew

UPENDRA NATH KANJILAL

I dedicate this book

as a token of my affection.

PREFACE.

From a perusal of the headings of the essays enumerated below, it will be evident that they deal with very important questions, religious, social, educational, economic, scientific, philosophical, moral etc. They were published in some of the important magazines of the day, such as the Calcutta Review, the Calcutta National Magazine, the Calcutta Hindu Spiritual Magazine, the Allahabad Hindustan Review, the Bombay East and West, the Madras Indian Review etc. Several of the essays while appearing in the periodicals were favourably noticed in the press. The writer received gold medals from the Chaitanya Library for his essays on the "Prospects of our young men" and the "Poverty of India" published in part I. and reward in the shape of books from the National Indian Association, London, for his essay on "The best methods of developing the local industries of India independently of State aid." Though belonging to the legal profession, literature has been his favourite pursuit. He was for some time Editor of the Hindoo Patriot when it was a daily paper and Professor of English Literature in the Metropolitan Institution. The questions raised and attempted to be solved by the writer have not been presented in a dogmatic form but their *rationale* has been clearly explained according to the light of modern improved ideas. Neither fear nor favour,—fear to expose and rectify errors, favour of a particular class or coterie for advocating its sectarian views,—has had any influence upon him. His sole aim has been to enquire after truth in an earnest and independent spirit. Problems affecting vital interests, both individual and national, have engaged his deepest thoughts. The secret of Indian regeneration lies in conserving what is good in the present, in reviving what was noble in the past state of Indian society and in assimilating what is found to be excellent in Western Civilisation.

The evils of extreme conservatism and radicalism should both be avoided. Neither blind faith in ancient customs and traditions nor a reckless spirit of innovation is desirable in the interests of reform. The writer has observed the above-mentioned rules in dealing with his subjects. He has eschewed politics or criticism of Government or its measures with a view to make his book eligible as a text-book for some University examination, if it meets with the approval of the Educational Authorities. He fervently hopes that both the Government and the public will patronise and encourage his enquiring spirit.

M. N. KANJILAL

Bar-at-Law

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ESSAYS

THE TRUE METHOD OF EDUCATION.

THE two problems with which we are to deal are, first, the kind of knowledge to be pursued for the purpose of education ; and secondly, what constitutes real education.

The knowledge pursued by the Schoolmen was useless for any practical purpose. Nice subtleties of discussion, fine distinctions, plays upon words, quibbles, &c., formed the bulk of their literature. Their sole object was to sharpen the intellect with useless or spurious knowledge. Their metaphysics were cobwebs, fine to look at, but unsubstantial and barren of any good results. Cleverness and ingenuity, not solidity and originality, were the natural outcome of such a system of training.

Far different was the method adopted by Bacon, the father of Inductive Philosophy. To ameliorate the condition of mankind, to minister to their pleasures and comforts, to alleviate their sufferings—these were the practical objects of pursuit. The object of science is the invention of arts and mechanical contrivances which may be turned to good account. Utility is the test of the value of knowledge.

Facts and phenomena are to be observed and experimented upon and accepted or rejected according to their fitness or otherwise to subserve some useful end. But, for the perfection of knowledge, the inductive and utilitarian method of Bacon ought to be supplemented by the Scottish and German deductive and transcendental methods. The highest abstract thought of modern times was attained in Germany in the great philosophical movement from 1780 to 1830, from Kant to Hegel ; and the chief philosophical concern of the next half-century was to understand, appreciate and apply the German thought of that period. It developed itself in the following form :—(1) The process of generalisation of

principles from scattered particulars. (2) Viewing things in their interaction upon and deviation from each other and as arising out of each other by operation of inherent organic laws. (3) The notion of evolution or development which had been applied in nearly all departments of thought by the Germans before it was successfully extended to natural history by Darwin. (4) The creation or renovation of the particular positive sciences of language, mythology, criticism, aesthetics, theology, history and metaphysics. Renan in France and Carlyle in England have been interpreters of German thought to their respective countrymen. Carlyle's philosophy is a poetical phenomenalism of Kant, but rendered more sceptical and negative by elements in common with the later pantheistic speculation of Fichte, and approaching in Carlyle's more speculative moods to the dogmatic pantheism of Goethe and Schiller. The keynote of the system consists in looking upon the world of phenomena—the realities of positive science—as only the shadow and symbol, the external vesture or garment of being, in itself inconceivable in terms of sense or experience.

Now, knowledge, either in the Baconian practical form or the Carlylian transcendental form, has grown to such an inexhaustible and vast volume or magnitude that the full lifetime of a man is not sufficient to enable him to obtain a thorough mastery over even a particular branch. Added to this, it has to be borne in mind that in this age of keen competition and formidable rivalry and the consequent hard struggle for existence when every hour must sweat her sixty minutes to death, we cannot afford to be crammed with useless or spurious knowledge while there is so much really worth knowing, if we are not to be handicapped in the race of life.

According to Herbert Spencer, knowledge has a two-fold value—its value as discipline or mental training, and its value as positive acquisition. Our mental faculties are to be sharpened and a stock of knowledge is to be acquired which

will stand us in good stead both in our dealings with the world and the particular chosen subject for which we have a peculiar aptitude. In order that these two objects may be accomplished thoroughly during the short career of general education, care should be taken that the subject of study chosen for the sake of the one should be subservient to the other also. After being grounded in general principles, the attention of the student should be confined to the study of his favourite subject. Anything not having a bearing upon the latter and which he has afterwards to forget or unlearn should be carefully eschewed in the former course of preliminary training.

Next, to proceed to the consideration of the second branch of the subject under enquiry—what constitutes real education.

The primary end of all real education is the perfect development of humanity or acquisition of wisdom. The most knowing or learned man is not necessarily the most wise. The province of knowledge is to furnish our mind with materials of information, that of wisdom is to utilise or turn them to account. The one may be compared with the materials of a building, and the other with the architect using them for its construction. The poet finely explains the difference between the two thus :—

Knowledge and Wisdom, far from being one,
Have oft-times no connection. Wisdom dwells,
In heads replete with the thoughts of other men ;
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.
Knowledge, a rude unprofitable mass,
The mere materials with which Wisdom builds,
Till smoothed and squared and fitted to its place,
Does but encumber whom it seems to enrich.

The application of meditation both to study and observation is the best means of obtaining wisdom. Whether in the province of intellect or that of morals, its influence for good is vast. The marvellous productions of art and science are

the combined result of knowledge and thought. What the digestive process is to food, reflection is to knowledge. As the one invigorates the body, the other endues the intellect with understanding and wisdom. Education does not mean simply the culture of the mind. It embraces the improvement of our physical, intellectual and moral or spiritual faculties in due proportions. Meditation has a large share in enlightening our mind and soul. It unlocks the treasures of psychological and moral truths. It is the best safeguard against immorality and vice. It leads to the formation of good character which is the principal object of education.

The existing system of University education has a two-fold defect. It does not make adequate provision for moral training, and it tends to foster a spirit of cramming or mental subserviency. The Government of India some time ago issued circular orders on the subject of the moral training of students, laying down certain rules about the selection of ethical text-books, discipline and inter-school regulations of transfer of students from one institution to another. These regulations do not appear to have produced the desired effect ; they have produced only one effect, *viz.*, the rigid realisation of fees and fines on occasions of transfer. It should be borne in mind that both as regards physical and moral training, much depends upon the students themselves. As they cannot become good athletes without undergoing systematic physical exercises, so their morals cannot be expected to be improved without their leading moral lives. Study of the rules of gymnasium and of morality is, no doubt, good in its way in furnishing our young men with knowledge of these subjects ; but their morals can no more be improved by mere study of ethical text-books than a nation can be rendered virtuous by an Act of Parliament.

The same observation applies to the matter of originality. It is more a personal than a transferred gift. It flies on

its own wings and stands on its own legs. Genius is self-made. There are two kinds of intellect—Talent and Genius. The former is a reasoning, and discursive faculty which proceeds from particulars to generals and from generals to particulars, step by step, by intermediate trains of reasoning, furnishing data for the conclusions arrived at. The latter is a discerning, spontaneous, intuitive faculty which perceives at a glance the conclusions from the very beginning, without the slow and plodding processes of reasoning. Thus, great mathematical and scientific minds like those of Newton and Faraday discerned the conclusions of mathematics or science from the beginning without intermediate trains of reasoning. In this way very important truths have been discovered by the glances of genius, though such intuitive divinations remain as hypotheses until verified by logical demonstration—a task often left by genius to others or to posterity. Experience has taught us that the guesses of men of genius like Carlyle or Emerson have proved to be as certain truths as any established by demonstration. Although genius is mainly spontaneous, natural and self-begotten, yet there are certain conditions or favourable circumstances for its free and unfettered development. Among these, the principal elements are, liberty and absence of poverty. It is extremely doubtful whether geniuses like Milton and Shakespeare, Newton and Faraday could have flourished in any other country than England, the land of genuine freedom. It is as impossible for the proud and the rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven as for the abject slave to breathe the pure atmosphere of liberty. This fact is clearly illustrated in the history of the Hindus. Their civilisation was unique in the world's history during the period of their supremacy and independence. It was the glorious epoch which produced such extraordinary geniuses as Manu and Yajnavalkya, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, Kapila and Gautama, Arjyabhatta and Bhaskaracharya, Susruta and Chanakya.

How many instances of such genuine originality among the children of India as can match that of their illustrious forefathers can be pointed out either in the dark age of Mohammedan rule or the enlightened period of British administration? Absence of political liberty in full measure is the principal cause of their present degeneration and retrogression. Liberty is the best educator. Its atmosphere is pure and bracing through which the lark of genius soars high beyond the reach of the shafts of despotism and the clouds of ignorance and superstition. In order to prevent misconception of our views, it is necessary to add that by political liberty we mean not the transfer of the supreme power to the people of India and the withdrawal of the British rulers, bag and baggage therefrom, but the enjoyment of rights and privileges by the Indians equally with all His Majesty's subjects, subject to the control and guidance of His representatives. The poverty of India stands as much in the way of the growth of Indian genius as the absence of self-government in the Empire. On a calm and comprehensive survey of the economic situation in India, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that in spite of all the benevolent intentions of Government, in spite of railways and canals and in spite too, of growing trade and agriculture, the country is getting day by day poorer in material wealth as well as weaker in productive capacity and energy. There is not a country so poor as this dependency of Great Britain. In justice to Government, it should be remarked that it is not alone responsible for Indian poverty. The general ignorance of the masses, notably, their want of technical knowledge, the want of enterprising spirit in the middle classes, their preference of the learned professions which have ceased to be lucrative by reason of overcrowding and keen competition and of Government service, the scope of which is too limited to afford employment to more than a few, to occupations connected with the agricultural and manufacturing industries of India, their habits of extravagance on occa-

sions of domestic ceremonies, such as marriage, sradh, etc., the aversion of the upper and well-to-do classes to employ their capital for the development of the local industries of India,—to these and similar other causes is mainly due the poverty of the people. No doubt, philosophers and poets have painted in glowing colours the sweet uses of adversity and poverty, and instances are not wanting showing the rise of genius from obscurity and misery. But these are exceptions to the general rule that "chill penury represses the noble rage and freezes the genial current of the soul."

The conclusions, then, of a successful system of education should be (1) a general preliminary training for sharpening the intellect ; and (2) a choice of a subject for which the student has a peculiar aptitude. The primary end of all education is the attainment of wisdom and the development of originality. This cannot be achieved by only storing the mind with a complement of truths, but it should be taught to energise.

SCIENCE : ITS RELATION TO AND INFLUENCE UPON RELIGION AND MORALITY.

SCIENCE is the rationalisation of knowledge which is twofold, *a priori* or original in the mind and *a posteriori* or derived from experience. Scientific knowledge means simply that part of knowledge which is definitive and capable of accurate explanation. It is merely the crystallised core of the vague mass of indefinite and inaccurate knowledge. It reaches the highest or most strictly scientific stage when it admits of being stated in precise propositions of unconditional validity. Observation (including experimentation, classification and generalisation) are generally the processes employed in investigating the truths of science. To observe facts and their relations to each other, to arrange them in order and reach generalisation by induction from ascertained facts and ultimately to explain phenomena by deduction from general principles, constitute the business of science. Each science has for its subject some specified attribute or attributes of things which it undertakes to investigate and interpret. Proper treatment of our body and mind ; due management of our affairs, whether private or public, proper utilisation of natural resources—in a word, how to live completely depends mainly on scientific knowledge. Science may be divided into three classes—Natural, Mental and Ontological or Speculative. The first and the second deal with the Objective and the Subjective phenomena, the Material and the Mental world respectively. The third deals with the relations which transcend the facts of experience (*e.g.*, our relations to the absolute Being) and is concerned with nominal or real substance.

The utility of natural science in ministering to our physical comforts cannot be doubted for a moment. What a vast difference there is between men in their primitive state

and those enjoying all the advantages of modern progress in knowledge of the necessary appliances of civilised life.

We are all indebted to science for our prosperity and advancement in life, for the preservation of our health and for the cultivation of our intellect. Its influence for good in the world of matter and mind is obvious, not calling for any detailed notice. All that we are concerned with in the present inquiry is its ethical efficiency which is not generally admitted. Ethics has been defined by Dr. James Martineau as the doctrine of human character. To interpret, to vindicate and to systematise the moral sentiments constitute the business of ethics. Considered as a practical science, moral philosophy embraces knowledge requisite for the guidance of human conduct. What is the ethical value of a knowledge of moral philosophy in particular and of science in general? Granting that scientific study is productive of moral value, the next question arises,—what is the test for distinguishing the morally good from the morally bad, *i.e.*, right from wrong?

This leads to an enquiry into the source of our knowledge of moral distinctions, that is, whether such knowledge is introspective or experiential—intuitional or developmental. The conduct of a human being is affected by his surrounding conditions, his opportunities and motives. Mere introspection is not sufficient to determine the objects with which he is confronted, the relations he bears to them and the dealings he can have with them. What those objects are that constitute the scene around him may be expressed in two words, Nature and God, understanding by the former the totality of perceptible phenomena and by the latter the eternal ground and cause whose essence they manifest. The questions as to what they are and what exactly they have to do with man, cannot but affect the decision of what he ought to be. The order of enquiry with reference to Nature and God, on the one hand, and man, on the other, is a point which has divided the ancient and modern schools of philosophy.

If we study first the former, we are apt to explain the human mind by their analogy and to utilise the conceptions derived from them for the interpretation of mental operations ; but if we study first our own mind we rather believe what the soul says about Nature and God than what they have to say about the soul. The latter method of procedure makes man a free agent and therefore responsible for his deeds ; the former makes man a necessary product of natural evolution—an efflorescence as it were of Nature and therefore, irresponsible. The latter method is psychological and the former unpsychological. The unpsychological method may be of two kinds according as we begin by assuming real, eternal, intellectual entities and thence descend to the human world, or as we start only with phenomena and their laws. If the former, we have a metaphysical ; if the latter, a physical system of morals. Hobbes was the representative of physical absolutism and Spinoza that of metaphysical. Auguste Comte's Positivism may be traced to the theory of Hobbes, while the theory of Spinoza survives in the School of Hegel.

Granting that we as moral beings are capable of moral law and of putting it into practice so as to realise virtue in our life, we have next to consider the metaphysical question, what is the ultimate ground or source of all morality ? In other words, what is the foundation of virtue ? It is of essential moment to distinguish between the foundation of moral distinctions and the knowledge of them. These are two perfectly distinct subjects, the former is independent of individual nature, while the latter has to be acquired by each individual through his own reason.

We now proceed to consider the various points raised above or such of them as are intimately connected with the subject of our enquiry.

THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE.

Moral philosophy, furnishing us with a rational explanation of our moral actions, moral nature and moral relations

is the best means we can make use of for improving our minds and gaining a true knowledge of ourselves and consequently recovering our souls out of the vice, ignorance and prejudice to which they are naturally subject. What strange disorders are caused in the minds of those men whose passions are not regulated by virtue or disciplined by reason ! Without proper culture the latent powers of our mind and the excellencies of our hearts remain undeveloped. "What sculpture is to a block of marble, education is to a human soul. The philosopher, the saint or the hero, the wise, the good or the great man, very often lie hid and concealed in a plebeian which a proper education might have disinterred, and brought to light."

According to F. D. Draper, the author of "History of the Conflict of Religion and Science," it is scientific education that is best fitted to discover to us a world of eternal truths—a world not to be explored through the vain traditions that have brought down to us the opinions of men who lived in the morning of civilisation, nor in the dreams of mystics who thought that they were inspired. That world is to be discovered by the investigations of science and by the practical interrogation of Nature. These confer on humanity solid, innumerable, and inestimable blessings. Science only asks the right of adopting a criterion of her own. If she regards unhistorical legends with disdain ; if she considers the vote of a majority in the ascertainment of truth with supreme indifference ; if she leaves the claim of infallibility in any human being to be vindicated by the stern logic of coming events, the cold impassiveness which in these matters she maintains is what she displays towards her own doctrines. Without hesitation she would give up the theory of gravitation or undulation if she found that they were irreconcilable with facts. For her the volume of inspiration is the book of Nature of which the open scroll is ever spread forth before the eyes of every man. Infinite in extent, eternal in duration, human ambition and human fanaticism have

never been able to tamper with it. On the earth it is illustrated by all that is magnificent and beautiful, in the heavens its letters are suns and worlds. It is commonly observed that ignorance is the mother of wonder—a vacant staring at an unusual and unfamiliar phenomenon. But this sentiment is the beginning of all knowledge and has in itself a function of the utmost value. Wonder, as Plato has it, is a truly philosophic passion ; the more we have it, blended with reverence and with a clear open eye, the better. It fixes and concentrates our attention with great energy. Our thoughts generally wander ; intruding thoughts generally call off the mind ; but once let wonder be awakened with the curiosity which follows it and the intellectual powers are quickened. In its higher stage it gives place to admiration which is directed to what is present in the mind and is its homage to the contemplated object.

The spirit of *Nil admirari* may be indulged in by a cynic, or a captious critic but is highly incompatible with yearning after truth. "He who wonders not," says Professor Blackie, "largely and habitually in the midst of this magnificent universe, does not prove that the world has nothing great in it worthy of wonder but only that his own sympathies are narrow and his capacities small. It is by admiration only of what is beautiful and sublime that we can mount up a few steps towards the likeness of what we admire. To look with admiring rapture on a type of perfect excellence is the way to become assimilated to that excellence."

The sciences of the heavenly bodies and of the earth's crust, of the nature and properties of substances and their combination, of the laws of heat, light, electricity and magnetism, the sciences dealing with molar and molecular forces and those relating to the vegetable, the mineral and the animal kingdoms—all these sciences giving us an insight into the wonders of the creation, call forth our warmest admiration, prove that our knowledge of the wondrously fair and glorious works of the Creator is very limited, that like

children we are still gathering pebbles on the sea-shore, that we are small creatures even the biggest of us, that we have very great reasons to be of a humble and reverential spirit, and that the admiration of science is a basis for the foundation of virtue and piety.

The discipline of science is superior to that of ordinary education because of the religious culture that it imparts. Morality is the practical part of true religion which is intimately connected with true science. "True science and true religion," says Professor Huxley "are twin sisters and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the death of both. Science prospers exactly in proportion to the religious depth and firmness of its basis. The great deeds of philosophers have been less the fruit of their intellect than of the direction of that intellect by an eminently religious turn of mind. Truth has yielded herself rather to their patience, their love, their single-heartedness and their self-denial than to their logical acumen."

The charge of atheism or irreligion is commonly laid at the door of science. A little consideration will show that so far from science being irreligious, it is the neglect of science which is irreligious—it is the refusal to observe and understand the properties of the wonderful phenomena, internal and external, which is irreligious. "Devotion to science,"—says Herbert Spencer, "is a tacit worship—a tacit recognition of worth in the things studied and by implication in their cause. It is not a mere lip-homage but a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought and labour." Not only a religious frame of mind but moral discipline is the result of scientific study. Knowledge of every kind has two values—value as knowledge and value as discipline. Science not only stocks the mind with rational knowledge, which is superior to mere empirical knowledge, but the process of acquisition strengthens the powers and faculties of the mind. The laws of evidence requiring only such facts to be admitted as are

pertinent or relevant, the rules of logic which require that correct conclusions are arrived at from well-established premises, the necessity of proceeding step by step in processes of reasoning or calculation, in order to solve rightly mathematical or scientific problems, apart from their value as positive knowledge, generate an attitude of mind not to submit to dogmatic teaching. The habit of understanding the *why* and the *how* of things and their processes, produces that independence of thinking which is a most valuable element in character.

Nor is this the only moral benefit from scientific culture. It leads under proper regulation to perseverance, sincerity, and love of truth. Speaking of inductive enquiry, Professor Tyndall says, "it requires patient industry and an humble and conscientious acceptance of what Nature reveals. The first condition of success is an honest receptivity and a willingness to abandon all preconceived notions, however cherished, if they be found to contradict the truth. Believe me, a self-renunciation which has something noble in it and of which the world never hears, is often enacted in the private experience of the true votary of science." The influence of science upon modern civilisation has been two-fold—1. Intellectual, 2. Economical. Intellectually it has overthrown the authority of tradition. It has refused to accept, unless accompanied by proof, the dicta of any master, no matter how eminent or honored his name. The scientific study of nature tends not only to correct and enoble the intellectual conceptions of man ; it serves also to ameliorate his physical condition. It perpetually suggests to him the enquiry how he may make, by their economical application, ascertained facts subservient to his use. The investigation of principles is quickly followed by practical inventions.

KNOWLEDGE OF MORAL DISTINCTIONS.

The knowledge of an action as fact is one thing ; the knowledge of that action as right or wrong is another

thing. The former involves simple perception, the latter is attained only by comparison. Every accurate moral judgment affirms a particular application of a general moral truth. There are other judgments which apply a standard altogether adventitious, the result of agreement or of common association. Judgments of morality differ in this respect from judgments of measurement. The judgment that an extended body is a few yards long contains an element of truth dependent on common consent. In morality the standard of judgment is invariable, because independent of personal or national choice. In measurement the standard of judgment is variable, dependent upon national sanction. There may be various standards of measurement, but only one standard of morality. Truthfulness and nothing else must be the standard of morality in utterance. Honesty and nothing more or less must be the standard of morality affecting property. It is, therefore, an essential feature of a valid moral judgment that it carries in it a general truth. The general truths involved in moral judgments are not generalised truths dependent for their validity on an induction of particulars ; but self-evident truths known independently of induction. The rightness of honesty is not proved by an induction of particulars. But the conclusion that honesty is the best policy is essentially a generalisation from experience. The recognition of general truths or principles is perception or intuition of a higher order as the recognition of simple facts is perception or intuition of a lower order. Knowledge of the former kind implies direct insight into necessary truth. The power to recognise such self-evident truths has been named Reason or Conscience in contrast with Reasoning or Understanding. Kant, the leading champion of an *a priori* philosophy, formally enunciated this distinction thus :— “Knowledge of a fact is knowledge by onlook ; knowledge inferred is knowledge of one thing through means of another ; knowledge of first principles is knowledge by insight into truth higher than fact.” Conscience has been de-

fined by Professor Calderwood to be that power of mind by which moral law is discovered to each individual for the guidance of his conduct. It is the reason as that discovers to us absolute moral truth—having the authority of sovereign moral law. It is an essential requisite for the direction of an intelligent free-will agent and affords the basis for moral obligation and responsibility in human life. "Conscience," says Joseph Butler, "is the moral approving and disapproving faculty—a principle of reflection or conscience."

Conscience is a faculty which from its very nature cannot be educated. As well propose to teach the eye how and what to see and the ear how and what to hear as to teach reason how to perceive the self-evident and what truths are of this nature. All these have been provided for in the human constitution. Moral training is something different from education of conscience. Personal attainment in the practical subordination of other powers to the authority of conscience is one thing and personal experience in the application of conscience is another thing. "Had conscience," says Butler, "strength as it has right, had it power as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world." Conscience being immediate knowledge of moral law is not dependent upon training for the discovery of such law, but training is necessary to be able to reduce moral law to practice. The diversity of moral judgments and sentiments among men is the main difficulty in vindicating an intuitionist theory of conscience and is the leading great objection of its opponents. The following explanation among others is offered in answer to such objection.

Men differ not as to the principles but as to their application in given circumstances. There is often great difficulty in deciding what is present duty when there is none as to what is morally right. Hence it happens that there is much more diversity of opinion as to the dutiful in special circumstances than as to what is right in all circumstances. Men may agree that benevolence is morally right and

yet may altogether differ as to the duty of helping a beggar. Diversity of opinion in this latter point, though it is connected with morals is not connected with the standard of morality. As there must needs be different degrees of culture among mankind and as they are not gifted with equal intelligence, their responsibility as moral agents would seldom be compatible with the infinite justice and mercy of God, if their notions of right and wrong were to depend upon such training. It is needless to enter into any discussion on the Development Theory as to the source of our knowledge of Moral Distinctions, as it has been found to be an exploded and untenable doctrine. The fundamental position of this theory is that all our most complex states of consciousness are merely developments under natural law from our simplest state. The mind as known in present consciousness is the general resultant of all previous experincies. It objects to the affirmation of original faculties of mind as explaining the states of consciousness. That a child is born with power of observation, reasoning and will is pure assumption. The Development Theory which seeks first to rise from sensation to intelligence, endeavours next with the aid of intelligence to reach a knowledge of Moral Distinctions. This theory has been demolished not only by a critical examination of its own merits by competent judges but by the arguments advanced above in support of an Intuitional Theory of Morals. The theory of the greatest happiness of the greatest number propounded by Jeremy Bentham, the Utilitarian theory of J. S. Mill, the Sociological theory of Professor Bain, the Biological theory of Auguste Comte, etc., are the various phases of the Development Theory which have all been found to be insufficient or defective speculations as to how we come by a knowledge of right and wrong.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PURANAS.

THE name *Purana*, which implies old, indicates the object of the compilation, namely, the preservation of ancient traditions. The description given by Professor Colebrooke of the contents of a Purana is taken from Sanskrit writers. The Lexicon of Amara Sinha gives as a synonym of *Purana*, *Pancha-lakshanam*, that which has five characteristic topics, and there is no difference of opinion among scholars as to what these are. 1. Primary creation or cosmogony ; 2. Secondary creation or the destruction and renovation of worlds including chronology ; 3. Genealogy of gods and patriarchs ; 4. Reigns of the Manus or periods called *Manwantaras* ; and 5. History or such particulars as have been preserved of the princes of the solar and lunar races and of their descendants to modern times. The different works known by the name of *Purana* are evidently derived from the same religious works as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* or from the mytho-heroic stage of Hindu belief. They present, however, peculiarities which designate their belonging to a later period, and to an important modification in the progress of opinion. They repeat the theoretical cosmogony of the two great poems ; they expand and systematise the chronological computations ; and they give a more definite and connected representation of the mythological fictions and the historical traditions. But apart from these and other particulars which may be derived from an old, if not from primitive era, they offer characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description which they assign to individual divinities, in the variety and purport of the rites and observances addressed to them, and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of those deities and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them. Siva and Vishnu are almost the sole objects that claim the homage of the Hindus in the *Puranas*, which thus depart

from the domestic and elementary ritual of the Vedas and exhibit a sectarian fervour and exclusiveness not traceable in the Ramayana and only to a qualified extent in the Mahabharata. No doubt many of the Puranas, as they now are, offer conformity to the view which Col. Vans Kennedy takes of their purport. "I cannot discover in them," he says, "any other object than that of religious instruction."

The description of the earth and the planetary system and the lists of royal races which occur in them he asserts to be evidently extraneous and not essential circumstances, as they are entirely omitted in some Puranas, and very meagrely dealt with in others, while, on the contrary, in all the Puranas, some or other of the principles, rites and observances of the Hindu religion are fully dwelt upon and illustrated either by suitable legends or by prescribing the ceremonies to be practised, and the prayers and invocations to be employed in the worship of different deities. Now, however accurate this description may be of the Puranas as they are, it is clear that it does not apply to what they were when they were synonymously described as Pancha-lakshanam, or treatises on five topics, not one of which five is ever specified by text or comment to be religious instruction. To the knowledge of Amar Sinha the lists of princes were not extraneous and unessential, but their being considered such by a writer so well acquainted with the contents of the Puranas as Col. Vans Kennedy, is a decisive proof that since the days of the lexicographer they have undergone some material alteration, and that we have not at present the same works in all respects that were current under the denomination of Puranas in the century prior to Christianity. Besides, there is internal evidence leading to the same conclusion, for, although the Puranas have no dates attached to them, yet circumstances are sometimes mentioned, or alluded to, or references to authorities are made, or legends are narrated, or places are particularised, of which the comparatively recent date is indisputable. At the same time, they may be acquitted

of subservience to any but sectarian imposture. Their frauds were pious frauds ; they never emanated from any combination, which is impossible, of the Brahmans to fabricate for the Hindu system any claims to antiquity which it cannot fully support.

A very great portion of the contents of many, some portion of the contents of all, is genuine and old. The sectarian interpretation or embellishment is always sufficiently palpable to be set aside without injuring the more authentic and primitive material, and the Puranas, although they belong especially to that stage of the Hindu religion in which faith in some one divinity was the prevailing principle, are also a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief, which came next in order to that of the Vedas, which grafted hero-worship upon the simple ritual of the latter, and which had been adopted and was extensively, perhaps universally, established in India at the time of the Greek invasion.

The pantheism of the Puranas is one of their invaluable characteristics, although the particular divinity who is all things, from whom all things proceed, and to whom all things return, is diversified according to their sectarian bias. In the Puranas the one only Supreme Being is supposed to be manifest in the person of Siva or Vishnu, and one or other of those divinities is, therefore, also the cause of all that is, is the one that exists.

The Puranas are evidently works of different ages and have been compiled under different circumstances, the precise nature of which we can but imperfectly conjecture from internal evidence and from what we know of religious opinion in India. It is highly probable that of the present popular forms of the Hindu religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Sankaracharya, the great Saiva reformer who flourished in all likelihood in the eighth or ninth century. Of the Vaishnava teachers Ramanuja flourished in the 12th century ; Madhwacharya in the 13th and Vallaya in the 16th, and the Puranas seem to have accompanied or

followed their innovations, being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught.

The invariable form of the Puranas is that of a dialogue in which some person relates its contents in reply to the enquiries of another. This dialogue is interwoven with others which are related as having been held on other occasions between different individuals in consequence of similar questions being asked.

The immediate narrator is, commonly though not constantly, Lomeharshana, the disciple of Vyasa, who is supposed to communicate what is imparted to him by his preceptor as he had heard it from some other sage. Vyasa is a generic title meaning an arranger or compiler.

In this age Krishna Dwaipayana, the son of Parasara, is said to have taught the Vedas and Puranas to various disciples, but who appears to have been the head of a college or school, under whom various learned men gave to the sacred literature the form in which it now presents itself.

The Puranas are eighteen in number, viz., 1. Brahma, 2. Padma, 3. Vaishnava, 4. Saiva, 5. Bhagavata, 6. Narada, 7. Markandaya, 8. Agnaya, 9. Bhavishya, 10. Brahma Vaivarta, 11. Linga, 12. Varaha, 13. Skanda, 14. Vamana, 15. Kaurma, 16. Matsya, 17. Garuḍa, and 18 Brahmanda. They are classed under three heads, *satwika* or pure, *tamasa* or dark, *rajasa* or passionate. The Vishnu, Narada, Bhagavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varaha Puranas are of *satwa* quality or that of goodness and purity. They are Vaishnava Puranas. The Matsya, Kaurma, Linga, Saiva, Skanda and Agnaya Puranas are *tamasa*, from the prevalence of the quality of *tamas*, ignorance. They are Saiva Puranas. The third series comprising the Brahmanda, Brahma Vaivarta, Markandaya, Bhavishya, Vamana and Brahma Puranas are designated as *rajas* from the property of passion which they are supposed to represent. The Upa Puranas differ little in extent or subject from some of those to which the title of

Puranas is ascribed. The Matsya enumerates but four ; but the Devi Bhagavata has a more complete list and specifies eighteen. These authorities are of unquestionable weight, having in view no doubt, the pretensions of the Devi Bhagavata to be considered as the authentic Bhagavata.

From an examination of the contents of the eighteen Puranas, it appears that they form the backbone of the existing system of Hindu religion. Hindu religion underwent a gradual change until the Vedic system was thoroughly replaced by Pauranic Hinduism. Elaborate religious rites took the place of the Vedic sacrifices and image-worship was introduced. As remarked by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt in his "History of Ancient Hindu Civilisation", the essential and cardinal doctrines of both forms of Hinduism are identical. They both recognise one great God, the all-pervading breath, the universal soul—Brahma ; they both maintain that the universe is an emanation from Him and will resolve into Him, they both recognise rewards and punishments in after-life or lives according to our deeds in this world, and they both insist on the final absorption of our souls in the great Deity. But while identical in essential principles, the two forms of Hinduism differ in minor doctrines and observances. The main difference in doctrine is that the Vedic religion insists on the worship of the manifestations of nature called Indra or Surjya, Agni or Varuna, and led up to the worship of the great Deity. The Pauranic religion, on the other hand, worshipped the great Deity in His threefold power of creation, preservation and destruction under the names of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, and legends of other gods and goddesses were added to fill the popular imagination. The Puranas are further divided into three classes, viz., those sacred to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva respectively. They are very voluminous, containing about 400,000 slokas or couplets of verses. They were principally composed in the Vikramadityan age, i. e., in the two centuries and a half from 500 to 750 A. D., although they may have been largely added to

in subsequent times, even after the Mohammedan conquest. While the Puranas narrate the legends of gods and goddesses and inculcate image-worship, another class of works called the Dharma Shastras lay down rules of action for men. The principal compilers of these Shastras were Parasara and Vyasa.

'At a later period were composed the Tantras, which were calculated to counteract the evil influences of the Sankhya Philosophy and the Charvak or the Atheistical School. There are now two rival classes of Pundits, namely, those belonging to the Vedic and those belonging to the Tantric Schools. Each of them considers his rivals as the exponents of a false or mistaken religion. This antagonism is highly regrettable as it is based on a misunderstanding of the true spirit of the Hindu Scriptures from the Vedas down to the Tantras. There is a substantial agreement in these religious works as to the fundamental principles of Hinduism, although there may be minor differences as to the modes of worship or rites and ceremonies. Neither nature-worship nor image-worship is idolatrous, both being intended to offer worship to One Supreme God through the medium of either nature or image. As nature-worship is worship of God in nature, so image-worship is worship of God through an image.

The Hindu does not worship the clay or stone image before him, but conceives the attributes of the Deity through the medium of an image which serves only to fix his mind. If the Hindu method of worship is idolatrous, then all systems of religion which prescribe the worship of God in a particular form, are also idolatrous, for they all have their ideals, and what are idols if not the external representation of their ideals ? "Idol," says Carlyle, "is eidolon, a thing seen, a symbol. It is not God, but a symbol of God. The most rigorous Puritan has his confession of faith, and intellectual representation of Divine things and worships thereby. All creeds, liturgies, religious forms, conceptions that fitly

invest religious things, are in this sense eidola, things seen. All worship whatsoever must proceed by symbols, by idols ; we may say all idolatry is comparative and the worst idolatry is only more idolatrous."

The Hindu welcomes all modes of worship, the progressive stages being from image-worship to mental worship and from mental contemplation of the Deity to union with Him. So long as there are diversities in intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement in a society, there must be diverse methods of worship and various conceptions of Divinity. To adopt one uniform system for persons of different culture is practically to do away with worship altogether. Prayer is the spontaneous outburst of deep emotions towards the Deity. Sincere and fervent devotion constitutes the essence of prayer. So long as one has a firm faith in, and profound veneration, for God, it is immaterial how he worships or prays to Him.

The Bhagavat Gita has laid down a liberal method of divine service. God is equally served and propitiated by whatever methods men may worship Him. (Chap. IV, Verse, II.)

Again, the Upanishads contain a valuable and practical formula of Divine Service or prayer to God. "Our prayer to God consists in loving Him and doing what is agreeable to Him." We instinctively know what is agreeable to God. We have an intuitive knowledge of what is right and wrong. What the senses are to the outer world, conscience is to the inner or moral world. We have a moral sense making us cognisant of our internal nature and physical organs revealing to us the external nature. Both soul and nature are the objects of our contemplation and observation. Such mental processes inevitably lead to the idea of the Creator of the soul and the author of nature. Science facilitates our knowledge of the Divine essence forming a sound groundwork of our faith. Karma or the performance of our duties perfects such knowledge and develops humanity. Thus a union of the three

elements—a true knowledge of the Divine Nature leading to rational faith and fructified into practical holiness—is necessary to accomplish the end of life. But they must go hand in hand. Faith without knowledge is liable to become blind ; without work it is barren of any useful results. Work without a knowledge of our duties is liable to become misdirected and aimless ; without faith it has a material tendency. Knowledge without faith has an atheistical and immoral tendency ; without practice it is worth nothing. Thus we see there is an interdependence between *jnan*, *karma* and *bhakti*—knowledge, work and faith—on the strict observance of which depends the perfection of humanity.

The firm faith in Vishnu has been beautifully illustrated in the portraiture of two characters, Dhruva and Prahlada, fully developed in the Vishnu Purana, which may be pointed out as the best type for exhibiting the rational and primary object of the Puranas.

Dhruva and Uttama were the two sons of Uttampada, the former by his wife Suniti, the latter by his favourite wife Suruchi. Stung by the reproaches of his step-mother for desiring to sit on his father's lap with his brother, Dhruva quitted his father's place, consoling his mother with the assurance that he would exert himself to obtain such elevated rank that it should be revered by the whole world. He went to some Rishis and asked of them advice how to attain to such elevated position. The instructions of the Rishis amount to the performance of *Joga*. External impressions are first to be obviated by particular positions, modes of breathing, &c. The mind must then be fixed in the object of meditation ; this is *Dharana* ; next comes the meditation or *Dhyana* ; and then the *Japa* or inaudible repetition of a Mantra or short prayer. Alarmed by the child's fixed devotion to *joga*, the gods conspired to throw various obstacles in his way, but they failed. Propitiated by his devotion, Vishnu rewarded Dhruva with the exalted position he prayed for, giving him precedence before the gods. The

life of Dhruva teaches this golden lesson : God helps those who help themselves. A dogged determination to accomplish what one has set his heart upon, undaunted by difficulties and obstacles, is sure to be crowned with success. Inconsiderate indulgence spoils children instead of promoting their true welfare. A sense of security that one has nothing to want for and a consequent love of ease and luxury are sure to undermine the vital energies essential to success in life. Uttampada blinded by his uxuriousness could not discern nor had the moral courage to acknowledge true manliness in Dhruva. In fact, Dhruva was the offspring of good conduct (Suniti) and Uttama of nice desires (Suruchi). The legend of Prahlada is equally interesting and edifying. Hiranyakashipa, the King of the Daityas, was an atheist or disbeliever in Vishnu. Enraged with his son Prahlada, who on no account changed his firm faith in Vishnu, the King devised various expedients to kill the child but signally failed. Him, through God's mercy, fire would not burn, nor weapons pierce nor serpents bite : him the pestilential gale could not blast nor poison nor magic spirits nor incantations destroy ; he fell from the loftiest heights unhurt, foiled the attempts of the elephants to destroy him, or the waves of the sea to swallow him up. These events in the life of Prahlada may be considered impossible or miraculous, but they are quite reconcilable with the teachings of Christ. "Verily I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you."—*St. Mathew XVII, 20.* But whether considered possible or impossible, the story is calculated to stultify atheism and show the sovereign efficacy of faith.

The adventures of Krishna recorded in the 4th book of the Vishnu Purana look like miracles similar to those recorded to have been wrought by Christ. If tradition and history can be relied on in establishing the truth of the Biblical miracles, there are similar good grounds for believing

the authenticity of the Pauranic miracles. If Christ is an Incarnation of the Deity, Krishna is also such an Incarnation. What is extraordinary or miraculous to a human being with limited powers, is possible to an Omnipotent Being. Divine attribute or force by superadding to itself human faculties does not become divested of its super-human potency. And if Incarnation means the highest development of human perfection, that is to say, when such perfection makes a near approach to the Divine essence, there is no reason to believe that the super-human power is affected by or deteriorates itself in the transformation. God does not cease to be as such by becoming a Man-God nor does man remain as such by being a God-Man. In the one case there is retention, in the other there is acquisition of superhuman power.

Spiritual truths are not easy of comprehension to men of ordinary intellect. The policy of our Shastric writers in the Puranic times was to give those truths an anthropomorphic character so as to attract ordinary minds and to leave to really cultured people, by process of rational dissection to get at the esoteric reality. The whole of the Puranas bristles with stories and fables containing valuable truths in allegorical forms. It should be our prime business not to treat such fables as cock-and-bull stories and grand-mother's tales but try to understand their true import or spiritual significance.

Thus Krishna denotes the great power which tills up our psychic soil. It comes from the same Sanskrit root from which *karshana* (cultivation) is derived. Radha is derived from the root *radh* to fulfil. She wants communion and companionship with the lord of her heart. She is the initial *prakriti*, the spiritual force of Krishna and the mistress of cosmos. In its gross sense Radha is *prikriti* (desire) personified. When allied to Krishna or *nibritti* (soul's attribute), she becomes *nibritti* herself. Gopi signifies a natural force which sustains and preserves the cosmos. It comes from the Sanskrit root *gup* to sustain or preserve. We read in the Puranas that Krishna was the lord of 16,000

gopies or master of innumerable natural forces. Krishna is appropriately equipped with a *sankhah* (conch shell), a *chakra* (disc), *gada* (club), and *padma* (lotus). By the medium of the first he proclaims the true dharma (duty) to man. The disc represents the mystery of Divine government, while the *gada* the judge's rod of punishment for the wicked, and the lotus the reward for the good. The esoteric significance of the *Rasalila* is nothing more than the bringing about of a spiritual unification or *Moksha* with the Supreme Lover through the medium of primal love.

This discourse cannot be better concluded than with the following exhortation. When the sacred Vedas revivify our spiritual life, when the sublime doctrines of the Upanishads will dispel the mists of superstition and ignorance, when the liberal teachings of the Gita will purify the soul and enlighten the intellect, when the practical lessons of the Puranas and the Tantras will teach us the best methods of preserving our status as Hindus and improving our morals by duly performing the hourly, daily and periodical duties of Divine worship, benevolence and paternal reverence,—then only shall we succeed in preserving the purity and strengthening the bonds of our society.



THE PRESENT DAY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INDIA AND WHERE THEY ARE TENDING.

THE old Hindu orthodox conservation is steadily though slowly yielding to the influence of liberalism which characterises the present day religious movements on the part of the Aryya Samajists, the Brahmos, the Hindu revivalists, the present generation of Buddhists, the Christian Missionaries in India and so forth. Such movements have generally for their object the doing away with all caste distinctions and thereby uplifting the depressed classes, substituting a rational mode of divine prayer or service for idolatry, the reform of superstitions and pernicious religious and social customs and practices, true conception or knowledge of God, true religious development or evolution and so on. The proper and normal tendency or direction of such changes or reforms should be to avoid the evils of extreme conservatism and ultra-radicalism. The welfare of society being the principal end to be attained by reforms, only such reforms are salutary as tend to promote that end ; in other words, interference with existing customs is only justified when it clearly appears that those are obnoxious and that adherence to them tends to do harm to society. That reforms to be salutary should be brought about in a spirit of earnestness having regard to the actual necessities of the situation and not in that of mere innovation. Incompatibility of time-worn customs with the existing circumstances and environments of our individual and social life is a good ground for interference with such customs. That such reforms should, as far as practicable, proceed from within and not from without. The dissemination of enlightened views as a consequence of liberal education and not any legislative enactment—an imperative demand in the interest, and as the outcome, of sound education and not any

extraneous influence—is the normal condition of genuine social reform. The Hindu revivalists are particularly reminded of their duty to proceed with their plan of action with a noble motive and in a patriotic and liberal spirit. If it is based upon rational or philosophical grounds, if it is conceived in the spirit of the teachings of the Vedas, the Vedanta Philosophy, the Upanishads, the Geeta, etc., adopting what is morally good and conducive to human happiness, and rejecting what is morally bad and productive of human misery, the success of their mission is certain. If, on the other hand, they try to revive Hindu religion with all its superstitious and absurd practices, customs and rites of the Pauranic period which are not only not adapted to the present state of society, but conflict on essential points with the religion taught in such original Scriptures of the Hindus as mentioned above, then it is bound to fail.

With such prefatory and preliminary remarks, let us see, if and to what extent, the existing Hindu caste-system, mode of prayer to God, conception of God, religious and social customs and rites require modification or reform. In short, where the present day religious movements are tending and what should be a true religious development or evolution.

Hindu caste-system—

The *rationale* and the genesis of the Hindu caste-system are to be found in the Bhagavat Geeta. Verse 13, Chapter IV lays down that the four castes (Brahmana, Kshattriya, Vaisya and Sudra) owe their origin to qualities and fruits of action. Spiritual or moral excellence, military talent, knowledge of trade and commerce and capacity for only menial service are their respective distinctive features. The possession of certain qualities or the pursuit of certain callings determines the nomenclature to be applied to a certain caste. So long as one possesses such qualities or pursues such callings, it is reasonable and proper to confine him to a certain class of which such qualities or callings are its peculiar characteristics. But suppose a Brahman ceases to

possess such qualities which entitle him to be ranked as such, in other words, he becomes *paitit* or fallen in the language of the Sastras, or adopts the avocations prescribed for the other castes, should he in the interests of individual and social progress be still called a Brahman and continue to enjoy the rights and privileges appertaining to the rank of Brahmins ? Again, suppose a Sudra gives up his menial occupation, is found possessed of Brahman-like moral or spiritual qualities or follows some honorable profession or calling, should we keep him in his degradation and not encourage him for his rectitude, intelligence and diligence by promoting him to a class of which he is found deserving ? The fact that Rishi Vishwamitra, a Kshattriya, was promoted to the rank of a Brahmana on account of his sanctity and learning, goes to show that the Hindu Shastras do not present an insurmountable obstacle to such a promotion taking place.

Hindu society has undergone considerable changes as regards the manners and customs, modes of living and of transacting the business of its members. Western ideas of civilisation have gone a great way towards modifying our primitive habits and practices. Under such circumstances Hindu customs should be reorganised on broad and liberal principles. A question of some nicety, *viz.*, whether the institution of caste is divine or human requires solution. Did God with nice discrimination mark out a certain class as His chosen or elect in preference to others which were not deemed worthy of His favour ? Did he stamp upon it a certain permanent badge of superiority such as the sacred thread to distinguish it from others ? In other words, is a person born a Brahman or made one ? This question has been solved by the well-known Sanskrit sloka which means that a person is born a Sudra, he becomes a *dwija* or the twice-born by the performance of religious rites and sacraments, a *bipra* or the enlightened by the study of the Vedas and a Brahmana when he knows Brahma or the Gdo.

From this it clearly appears that caste status cannot be claimed as a divine gift as is erroneously supposed by some orthodox Hindus, but is simply a mark of distinction based upon occupation, learning and character. The grouping of society into classes is based upon division of labour. Such a classification is artificial and not real, no calling or avocation as an honest means of livelihood should be condemned as ignoble. Each one is a link in the great chain binding together the multifarious divisions of society.

It is not practicable or desirable to do away with all caste-distinctions and to mix all classes of society pell-mell. In the society of every nationality constituted as it is at present, there must be Aryas and Sudras, Peers and Commons, Patricians and Plebeians so long as education which is the common leveller commencing from the higher orders is not filtered down to the lowest stratum of society. Education and moral worth and not the mere accident of birth should be the standard of caste-distinction. The system should not be eradicated but pruned down and trimmed so as to afford room for future luxuriant and improved growth. The thought and manners of the West permeate those of the Indians and social revolution without healthy reform must be deplored when questionable canons are introduced into the system. Organisation and not disorganisation should be the motto in the adjustment of society, and it must needs be a matter for serious apprehension when revolution seeks to occupy the place of evolution or reform. The wisdom of the West has succeeded in disintegrating so far the social polity of India. And it is doubtful whether any further disintegration is possible in this direction. At all events it is doubtful whether such disintegration will ever do any good to the Indian people. The results which have flowed from it are far from encouraging. For the results have been that the so-called lower castes, the castes which had hitherto represented the industrial classes, have forsaken and are daily forsaking the industries in which their ancestors had excelled

and are jostling with the higher or intellectual castes in the learned professors in the hope of becoming gentlemen. The education of the West, it must be held, has brought in its train a snobbishness which in times past was entirely foreign to the Hindu nature and the existence of which was impossible under the iron rule of the caste-system as it stood in pre-British times. All this as much as the competition of the West is responsible for the death of our indigenous industries. There is no doubt of the fact that these industries were placed at a fearful disadvantage when they had to face the competition of the West supported as the latter was by all the discoveries and appliances of modern science which have taken captive the forces of nature and are making them work for the benefit of man. But if we consider the situation calmly we must admit that there were other causes at work besides Western competition. In the present state of things the only course left open to our people is for the educated classes to take kindly to some of the industries and thus show to the people that they are their real leaders. It is time for the intellectual castes to show by practice that their belief in the dignity of labour is a sincere and honest belief and not a mere sham.

It thus appears clear that the caste-system has its advantages as well as disadvantages. Even English writers have pointed out the former. "The system of caste," says Sir Henry Cotton, "far from being the source of all the troubles which can be traced to Hindu society has rendered the most important service in the past and still continues to sustain order and solidarity. The admirable order of Hinduism is too valuable to be rashly sacrificed before the moloch of progress. Better is order without progress, if that were possible, than progress with disorder."

Dr. Hunter has also paid a well-deserved tribute of praise to the Hindu caste-system. "The system of caste," he says, "exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is in the first place a trade-guild. It ensures the

proper training of the youth in its own special craft ; it makes rules for the conduct of business and it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings. The famous manufactures of mediæval India—its muslins, silks, cloths of gold, inlaid weapons and exquisite works in precious stones—were brought to perfection under the care of the castes or trade-guilds. Such guilds may still be found in full work in many parts of India.”

The Hindu conception of God—

According to the Sankhya Philosophy and Positivism God is unknowable. This can be shown to be an untenable position. Our finite and imperfect knowledge implies the conception or the ideal of what is infinite and perfect. The knowledge of a limit implies an actual transcendence of it. There is a vast difference between our ideal of perfection and our actual attainment. However great our progress towards it may be, we are conscious that it yet falls far short of our ideal. We are conscious of our moral infirmities, yet we can feel that there is no point of moral progress beyond which we may not aspire. We know that our knowledge is limited. Nevertheless there is no limit to it in our conception. This boundless capacity of progress, while we have a secret ideal of perfection immensely higher than our highest actual attainments, is what is called a potential infinitude in our nature as spiritual beings. That is to say, the spiritual nature and life of man are capable of realising the consciousness of God and our essential relation to Him. We can only be conscious of imperfection because we have within us, latent or explicit, a standard of absolute perfection by which we measure ourselves. The soundness of this proposition is confirmed even by common experience. We can pronounce one's conduct as bad or unjust because we have an idea of goodness and justice. God is absolute and perfect and our knowledge of Him as such is involved in the knowledge of ourselves as relative and imperfect. It is our knowledge of God, the relation of our nature as spiritual beings to Him

which alone gives reality to our partial knowledge and makes us aware that it is partial. It may be contended that the conception of our imperfect knowledge is forced upon us by the presence of any intelligence, relatively greater, however imperfect in itself; that nothing so vast as the knowledge of an Infinite Being is needed in order to make us conscious of our own finitude. But it is forgotten that the standard of measurement of our finitude is applicable to all stages of human attainment. It is a standard which, whatever may be the degree of our spiritual progress, would still reveal to us our imperfection. We do not ultimately measure our knowledge, or become conscious of its limited and imperfect character by comparison with any man's knowledge, because that also may be imperfect and erroneous. But by referring to an absolute knowledge we invariably act on the conviction that it is an infallible standard and an ultimate criterion of certitude. Even scepticism cannot avoid the conclusion which it attempts to dispute. In the very act of doubting, it arrogates to itself a knowledge which it asserts it does not possess. To be able to pronounce human knowledge as defective and imperfect, the sceptic must necessarily have an ideal of absolute and perfect knowledge in comparison with which his verdict is pronounced.

The very denial of an absolute intelligence in us could have no other significance but as a tacit appeal to its presence. An implied knowledge of God in this sense is proved by the very attempt to deny it.

The fact that God is not cognisable to the senses does not affect our knowledge of Him. The mind equally with God is invisible, yet we know what our mind is. That is to say, we know God by His attributes, such as omnipotence, omniscience, justice, mercy etc., just as we know the mind by its functions and faculties such as perception, memory, attention etc.,

According to Addison, by adding infinitude to any kind of perfection we enjoy, and by joining all these different

kinds of perfection in One Being, we form our idea of the great Sovereign of Nature.

Our ideas of justice and mercy, for instance, are limited and imperfect ; by adding infinitude to them we obtain an ideal of infinite justice and mercy and so on with regard to other moral qualities. This shows that there is a vast gulf between the functions of the soul and the attributes of the Deity. The soul in relation to God is like the asymptotes of a hyperbola which draw nearer and nearer, but never touch.

In the Bible it is said that man was made after the image of God, which means that the Divine essence is reflected on the human soul. The soul makes a near approach to its prototype or falls away from it according as it is spiritually developed or depraved. As a dirty mirror does not reflect objects clearly, so a vitiated or corrupt soul does not transparently reflect the Divine image.

Purity of soul is an essential condition of seeking after God. The requisite qualification is moral rather than intellectual. Neither the cobwebs of metaphysics of the Schoolmen nor the proud philosophy of the Positivist or the Evolutionist has succeeded in throwing any light on this important subject. Our knowledge of God or truth is introspective or intuitional and not experimental or developmental. If seeking after god were to depend upon training or education, then, as the major part of mankind are ignorant or uneducated, they would be hopelessly debarred from the privilege. Such a hypothesis would be inconsistent with the Divine attributes of justice and mercy. God is truth. Want of knowledge of it in consequence of want of education would lead men astray from the right path. Such moral anomaly cannot be reconciled with the omniscience, infinite justice and mercy of god. Moral responsibility under the providence of a just and beneficent Ruler implies an intuitive perception of truth. The theory of intuition, then, is a key to the solution of the important problem—how to know

or seek after God. There is a sufficient provision in our moral constitution fitting us for the enquiry.

An earnest spirit of enquiry after truth is a *sine qua non* of Divine knowledge. Our soul naturally yearns after God and truth. As a river runs into the sea, so our soul pants after Infinite Perfection unless there is an impediment obstructing its free and spontaneous flow. Above all, what food is to the body, religion is to the soul. As starvation causes physical death, so irreligion, or want of communion with God, causes spiritual death or negation of humanity.

True Religious Development or Evolution.

The most important tendency of the present-day religious movements is surely though gradually towards the emergence of a world-religion or its true development or evolution. Religion, to be true, must be based upon rationalism or true science. "True science and true religion" says Professor Huxley, "are twin sisters and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the destruction of both." The charge of atheism has been erroneously laid at the door of science. "Devotion to science," says Herbert Spencer, "is a tacit worship—a tacit recognition of worth in the things studied and by implication in their cause. It is not a mere lip-homage but a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought and labour." Mere dogmatic teaching, based though it may be upon traditional authority or the simple *ipse dixit* of any person, how honoured his name or reputation may be, will not commend itself to thoughtful men. In order to be able to command respect or obedience, such *dictum* should be accompanied by good and sufficient reasons.

Science is the rationalisation of knowledge which is two-fold, *a priori* or original to the mind and *a posteriori* or derived from experience. Such rationalisation when applied to religion will result in the building up of a general or universal

system of religion or a true religious development or evolution.

It is to be observed that it is only in the modes of worship or prayer and in the performance of religious or domestic ceremonies and rites, and not in cardinal principles, that there are differences in religion. The Hindu may recite his *mantras* in a temple, the Mohammedan perform his *namas* in a mosque, and the Christian say his prayers in a Church, but all these various methods are intended to express, in a place dedicated to Divine service, our feelings of reverence and gratitude to the same Almighty Father, for it is One and the same Being of whom the Vedas, the Koran and the Bible speak. The charge of idolatry or image-worship has been erroneously laid at the door of Hinduism. As in the Christian Trinity—God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost—there is unity of Godhead in the three-fold character of revelation, fulfilment and inspiration of law or truth, so the Hindu triad of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva represents the three-fold power of creation, preservation and destruction inherent in the One Absolute Being. The numerous deities in the Hindu pantheon represent either abstract qualities or concrete objects, the former being the manifestation of God in mind, the latter in matter or nature. The image in which any of these is worshipped is simply a medium intended for obtaining knowledge of the Divine Being through mental attributes or for rising from nature to nature's God. As nature-worship (which was in vogue during the Vedic period) is worship of God in nature, so image-worship (introduced during the Pauranic period) is worship of God through an image. "Idol" says Carlyle, "is eidolon, a thing seen, a symbol. It is not God, but a symbol of God." Sincere and fervent devotion constitutes the essence of prayer. So long as one has a firm faith in and profound veneration for God, it is immaterial how he worships or prays to him. The Geeta lays down a broad and liberal principle of Divine Service. God is equally propitiated by whatever

ways men may worship Him. (Chap. IV., v. II). According to the Upanishads, love of God and performance of what is agreeable to Him, are the essentials of Divine prayer. We instinctively know what is agreeable to Him. We have an intuitive knowledge of what is right and wrong. What the senses are to the outer world, conscience is to the inner or the moral world. We have a moral sense making us cognisant of our moral nature and physical organs revealing to us the external nature. Both soul and nature are the objects of our contemplation and observation. Such contemplation and observation inevitably lead to the idea of the Creator of the soul and the Author of nature. Science facilitates our knowledge of the Divine essence forming a sound ground-work of our faith. *Karma* or the performance of our duties perfects such knowledge and develops humanity. Thus a union of the three elements—a true knowledge of the Divine Nature leading to practical morality and rational faith—is necessary to accomplish the true end of life. But these elements are interdependent and their usefulness consists in their co-operation and joint action. Faith without knowledge is liable to become blind ; work without a knowledge of our duties is liable to become misdirected and aimless ; mere knowledge without faith has an atheistical and demoralising tendency ; without practice it is worth nothing ; it is then dry and unproductive of any practical good.

It remains to be said what is the common basis of all religions. Religion may be considered under two general heads. The first comprehends what we are to believe, the other what we are to practise for the regulation of our conduct and the discharge of our duties. The one is the province of faith, the other of morality. Faith seems to draw its principal, if not all its, excellence from the influence it has upon morality, and no article of faith can be true and authentic that weakens or subverts morality which is the practical part of religion. Religious rites and ceremonies are intended to produce moral results,—to form an excellent moral character by purifying the heart.

It cannot be said that purity of heart can be attained only by minute and punctilious observance of such rites and ceremonies and not otherwise. Such being the case, want of uniformity in their observance is not of any practical moment. Moral efficacy is the true test of their usefulness, and if that is secured, religious antipathy or persecution based upon such want of uniformity is highly objectionable and unjustifiable. Proselytising zeal, to be of any value, should be directed to make converts to ideas of sound morality which are invariable and not to those of religious or customary formalities which are variable. The moral standard being common to all forms of faith can easily reconcile all differences in them and will meet with little or no opposition. The excellent moral teachings of the Bible are acceptable to a Hindu or Mohamedan whose Bhagabat Geeta and Koran respectively may be read with advantage by a Christian.

DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HINDUS : Ancient And Modern.

FOR an exhaustive treatment of such a vast field of enquiry, it is necessary to trace the genesis and give a historical account of the social and domestic customs and practices of the Hindus prevalent in the (1) Vedic, (2) the Epic, (3) the Rationalistic, (4) the Buddhistic, (5) the Pauranic and (6) the Modern Periods, noticing which of these customs and practices are universal and invariable, and how and when the latter underwent modifications.

(1) THE VEDIC PERIOD (2000-1500 B. C.)

The history of Aryan Hindu civilisation forms a bright chapter in universal history. Ancient Hindu culture and progress have been pronounced by competent authorities to be unique in the history of the world. No other nation of ancient or modern times can exhibit so brilliant a record of thirty centuries of progress. It contains all the essential features of what is called the philosophy of history through successive ages—the religious, intellectual and political advancement of the Hindus as well as the excellence of social and domestic customs and institutions. It presents, in short, a faithful picture of their successes, failures and struggles in forming and developing a national life. It is not easy for Europeans to form a correct estimate of Hinduism. For instance, Mr. C. B. Clarke regards Hinduism as consisting in the observance of the manners and customs of a particular place at a particular time and necessarily varying from day to day and from place to place like the hues of a rainbow. Such a slipshod description betrays ignorance of the fact that for upwards of 3000 years Hinduism has lasted, defying the ravages of time, the revolution of empires, the vicissitudes of Governments, the iconoclastic spirit of the Mohamedans and

the missionary zeal of the Christians. The true basis of Hinduism as a religious alliance and a social league is solid and strong and not liable to destruction by any changes in the mere outward form of its observance. The ancient Hindus used to worship nature, their modern descendants are image-worshippers ; but such differences in the mode of worship, or in the social constitution, do not affect the fundamental principles of Hinduism as a great humanising force, a firm basis of religious culture and social unity. Such principles have been enunciated in the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures. The Vedas are four in number : the Rig, the Yajur, the Sama and the Atharva. The first is a collection of poems and hymns of various dates but may be roughly ascribed to the 14th or 15th century B. C. The second and the third may be described as prayer-books compiled from the Rig. The Atharva, the latest compilation, may be described as a collection of poems mixed with popular sayings, medical advice, magical formulæ and the like. The primitive Aryans led a very simple life. They pursued agriculture, possessing large herds of domestic animals. Plain living and high thinking were what they were noted for. The caste-system was unknown to them, the only distinction then recognised being between Aryans and Non-Aryans or aborigines. "If," says Professor Max Muller, "with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste as we find it in Manu and at the present time, form one of the most ancient religious teachings of the Vedas, we can answer it with a decided, No." The Aryans had advanced beyond the rude existence of the hunter to the settled industry of the cultivator of the soil. Their domestic customs and laws of inheritance were nearly the same as those which now prevail in India. In fact, some of the customs have undergone changes for the worse. The women were treated with greater respect and were not kept in seclusion. They performed religious rites and ceremonies and composed hymns. Hindu matrons were careful and diligent in exercising

supervision over domestic affairs. Girls were married at an advanced age and there was no restriction against widow-marriage. The inhuman practice of *Sati* or widow-burning was unknown.

The religion of the Vedic Hindus was purely theistic. Monotheism is inculcated in the Vedas, as it appears from a certain hymn in the Rig-Veda.

(2) THE EPIC PERIOD (1500-1000. B. C.)

In this period the two celebrated epic poems, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana were composed. As the Mahabharata celebrates the Lunar race of Delhi, so the Ramayana forms the epic history of the Solar race of Ayodhaya, the ancient capital of Oudh. The two poems preserve the legends of the two most ancient Hindu dynasties and the manners and customs of the times. The compiler of the Mahabharata was Vyasa and that of the Ramayana was Valmiki. Both of them are held in universal esteem and admiration for their magnificence of imagery and eloquence of description. They embrace history, geography, genealogy, theology and the nucleus of many a popular myth. Both works are more voluminous than either Homer's *Iliad* or Virgil's *Aeneid*.

The four castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas and Sudras were formed during this period. The superiority of the Brahmins is founded upon the following legend. It is said that the Brahmins sprang from the mouth of Brahma the creator, the Kshatriyas from his arm, the Vysyas from his thighs and the Sudras from his feet. The true import of this mythology is that the Brahmins represented the brain-power, and the Kshatriyas the physical power of the nation ; the two other classes undertook to supply food and personal service respectively. The system of caste has its advantages as well as disadvantages. "The system of caste," says Dr. Hunter, "exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is in the first place a trade-guild. It ensures the proper training of the youth of its own special craft ; it makes

rules for the conduct of business ; and it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings." The system of caste, however, is not an unmixed blessing. It has divided and disunited the compact body of the Hindus into separate sections, placing the common people under the dominion of the priestly class, and thereby obstructing the growth of popular freedom and progress and national unity. Again, the caste-system, based upon the principle of division of labour has failed to produce good economic results. Division of labour as a term of Political Economy means a division of processes to obtain an ultimate combination of results. Division of labour as predictable of Indian art or manufacture means a division of results (each man being able to do only one thing) effected by combination of processes (each man performing the whole of the processes requisite to produce the single result).

But although the caste-system introduced in this age failed to produce good economic results and unite society, the social life of the Hindus was highly civilised. Girls were married at a mature age and child-marriage was yet unknown. There was not only no restriction against widow-marriage, but it was expressly sanctioned, the rites and ceremonies which a widow had to perform being distinctly laid down. The illustrious antiquarian and scholar, Dr. Rajendra Lal Mittra, gave a clear philological proof as to the sanction of the remarriage of widows both of law and custom in ancient times. According to him, the very existence of such words as *didhisu*, a man that has married a widow, *parapurva*, a woman that has married a second husband and *punarbhava*, a son of a woman by her second husband, in Sanscrit, from an early age, proves the custom. The practice of *Sati* or widow-burning was then unknown.

The system of education was what is now prevalent in our *gurukuls*, the pupils receiving not only intellectual but moral training. They were taught by precept as well as by examples, living during the period of their studentship under

the personal superintendence of their *gurus* or teachers. They learnt and practised domestic and religious virtues which, in after-life, stood them in good stead in their dealings with mankind. Cheerful obedience to their elders, hospitality to strangers and simplicity of life were the happy results of the Aryan mode of teaching, contrasting favourably with the English method, which unfortunately tends to produce a spirit of disobedience and insolence, cold, phlegmatic and unsympathetic treatment of strangers and a high style of living often unsuited to one's condition and circumstances in life.

Charity is the peculiar characteristic of the Hindus. Care should, however, be taken that sloth and idleness may not be encouraged by giving alms to able-bodied paupers. The females enjoyed perfect liberty and obtained equal advantages of education with men. Cultured ladies such as Vesvābara, Lopamudra, Romasa, Atri, Gargi, Maitreyi and others were ranked as Vedic Rishis, having composed parts of the Rig Veda. In their Charans and Parishads—like the grammar schools and universities of Europe—some of the highest chairs were creditably occupied by lady professors. Ladies in those days attended social gatherings at which they took part in religious or literary discussions. The *zenana* system has been the outcome of Mohamedan rule in India and is still prevalent, although Indian society has much improved under the civilising influence of the English Government. The general moral improvement of society and female education must precede female emancipation, or else liberty may degenerate into licence.

The idea of religion underwent some change being associated with a punctilious performance of religious rites and ceremonies in all their minute details rather than with earnest and fervent prayer to God. Such rites and ceremonies are simply means to an end. They are intended to purify the heart and improve our morals. Care should be taken that they may not degenerate into mere mechanical works which tend to smother living piety.

(3) THE RATIONALISTIC PERIOD (1000-260. B. C.)

That the Hindus were then a highly civilised people appears clear from the account of the Greek traveller Megasthenes. "They live happily enough being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor extracted from rice instead of barley ; and their food is principally a rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess sober sense. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem."

Domestic and religious ceremonies underwent a further modification now. Most of such ceremonies possess an inner or spiritual import. Taken in their outward aspect and from an economic point of view, they may appear to be ugly, superstitious and extravagant acts. But when the inspiring motive, the *rationale*, the poetry of the thing, is understood, they excite our admiration rather than contempt. For instance, when the Hindu offers cakes and libations of water to his departed forefathers, it is not to be supposed that he superstitiously believes that the deceased are actually able to partake of them. Similar is the case when he offers certain choice things to the gods. The offer in both cases is a sort of dedication, as when we dedicate a book to some respectable and learned person. The Hindu is enjoined to take *prosad*, or the remnant of the food partaken by his *guru* or spiritual leader or parents. He considers it an act of disrespect and selfishness to take his meals without a care or thought to see that they have been first satisfied. This deferential act towards the living is also done towards the deceased in order to show that death has not altered in the least the son's respect for his parents, that he would still take their *prosad* and that he cannot rest satisfied with-

out associating the good things he enjoys with the memory of those to whom he owes his existence and welfare. The thought of even imaginary ingratitude is unbearable to a true Hindu.

Again, the Hindu *Poojahs*, notably the *Durga Poojah*, may be undesirable from grounds of economy, but their usefulness in creating a strong and sacred bond of national and social unity cannot be over-estimated. There cannot be a Hindu family without its religion, religion being closely interwoven with social customs and manners. What is really worshipped is not the image in mud sculpture but the attributes of the Deity conceived through the medium of the image. And this periodical public acknowledgment of the Creator by the Hindus appears to contrast favourably with the absorbing secularism and gross materialism of Western civilisation. The happy blending and association of pleasure with religious and charitable acts is perhaps peculiar to the Hindu system alone. The friendly embrace on the *Bejoya* day and a few succeeding days is a great factor of social unity ; even enemies forget their old quarrel and are reconciled to one another. If they happen to meet on such days, they cannot avoid this ceremony of courtesy. Being associated with the grand *Poojah*, it works as a charm in healing old sores and confirming friendships. This age witnessed the birth of Buddhism which is not essentially different from Hinduism but is rather a rationalistic view of it. Gautama Buddha proclaimed his Gospel in the year 522 B. C. Self-culture is the corner-stone of this doctrine. Buddha rejected the Vedic rites and ceremonies as worthless. He denounced penances and religious austerities, on the one hand, and vicious indulgence on the other. He was for a golden mean between these extremes. His religion was essentially a religion of equality and love. He repudiated caste-distinctions and was an advocate of universal brotherhood. His mission was to promote equality, fraternity and piety. The ethical value of Buddhism is very great. It breathes a spirit of benevolence

and of forgiveness, of charity and love. Buddha's doctrine of *Nirvana* can be shown to mean the reunion of the human soul with God, and not its utter annihilation as is erroneously believed by some persons. About 250 B. C. Asoka, the King of Maghada or Behar became a zealous convert to Buddhism. He made for Buddhism what the Emperor Constantine did for Christianity—made it a state religion.

The law of *Karma* was brought into prominence by Buddha who preached that our salvation depended, not on the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, but on our *Karma* or conduct. He thus brought spiritual deliverance to the people by doing away with sacrifices and with the priestly claims of the sacerdotal class as mediators between God and man. He showed clearly that redemption from sins or perfection of humanity can only be attained by one's personal exertions and not vicariously.

(4) THE BUDDHISTIC PERIOD (260 B. C.-500 A. D.)

A glimpse of the social life of the Hindus during this age can be obtained from the accounts of Chinese travellers to India.

Fa Hian, who came to India about A. D. 400, thus speaks of the people of Northern India :—"The people are well off, without poll-tax or official restrictions ; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of the profit of the land. The Kings govern without corporal punishment. Criminals are fined lightly or heavily according to circumstances. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they only cut off the right hand. Throughout the country, the people kill no living creature, nor drink wine."

The Hindus lost their empire mainly on account of their indifference to worldly things. The principal duty of the Hindu kings was to please their subjects and consult their real interest. They were looked up to as the natural rulers and leaders of mankind and their authority was supported more by moral and spiritual than by physical force. Their easy subjugation by plundering

and marauding barbarians was not due to the discontent of their subjects or to want of social amalgamation or national unity, but to their apathy and indifference to material prosperity and self-aggrandisement, their hearts being more bent upon securing a place in heaven than consolidating an empire on earth.

The administration of the country was, on the authority of Houen Tsang, conducted on benign principles, various acts of public good being done at the expense of the State by way of assignment of lands belonging to it for the purpose. Those who cultivated the royal estates paid one-sixth part of the produce as tribute ; the taxes of the people were light and few.

This appears to have been a more extensive system of feudal tenure than that which prevailed in mediæval Europe. It was calculated to afford great encouragement to agriculture. Ample provision was made for rewarding men of distinguished ability ; charity and religion were fostered. Above all the people were allowed a considerable latitude of self-government. They were happy and prosperous, as the incidence of taxation and State demand for a share of the produce of the Crown lands were light. "The union of the village communities," says Elphinstone, "each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

The accounts of India given by Chinese travellers are in perfect accord with those of Magasthenes, a Greek ambassador at the court of Chandra Gupta. He observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women and the courage of the men. In valour they excelled all other Asiatics ; they required no padlocks to their doors ; above all, no Indian was ever known to lie. Sober and industrious, good farmers and artisans, they

scarcely ever had recourse to a law-suit, living peaceably under their native chiefs. The kingly Government is portrayed almost as described in the Code of Manu. The village-system is well described, each little rural unit seeming to the Greek an independent republic. It is erroneous to suppose that the Indo-Aryans treated the Sudras after the manner of Russian serfs, Greek helots or Roman plebeians. They were regarded more as children and dependants than as slaves or conquered people. There was not that feeling of humiliation and debasement under a foreign yoke, on the one hand, or haughty, domineering and insulting deportment on the other.

Social customs, however, underwent a change for the worse. The marriage of girls at a mature age was looked upon with disfavour, and with the frequent invasion of foreigners and the insecurity of the times, the custom of early marriage i.e., placing little girls under the protection of their husbands, came into vogue. Widow-marriage which was freely allowed in ancient times, was also now discouraged, though not prohibited. Inter-caste marriages were still allowed under the old restrictions, viz., that a girl of higher caste should be confined by marriage to a family of her own caste. The inhuman custom of *Sati* was not yet known in India. Thus, though some unhealthy customs were gradually creeping into Hindu society, women were still regarded with respect and honour.

Love, as depicted in English novels, plays but a small part in Indian society, for the choice of a mate is not often left by Indian custom to the parties concerned, but its absence is more than compensated by the intensity of the attachment that exists between members of the same family. The family in the old sense of the word still exists in India. In England it is a very different institution. The romance of Indian life is the romance, not of the individual, but of the family. There is good and there is evil in both systems but it is far from certain that the advantage is wholly on the

English side: Comparing the ancient Hindus with the Greeks, Elphinstone remarks that the internal institution of the former was less rude, their conduct to their enemies more humane ; their general learning was much more considerable ; and in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they were clearly in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens.

(5) THE PAURANIK PERIOD. (A. D. 500-1200).

Image-worship was now introduced in place of the Nature-worship of the Vedic age. But neither method can be called idolatrous. As Nature-worship is worship of God in Nature, so image-worship is worship of God through an image. "Idol," says Carlyle, "is eidolon, a thing seen, a symbol. It is not God but a symbol of God." Prayer is the spontaneous outburst of deep emotions towards the Deity. Sincere and fervent devotion constitutes the essence of prayer. So long as one has a firm faith in and profound veneration for God, it is immaterial how he worships or prays to Him. The Bhagavat Geeta lays down a liberal provision of Divine service to the effect that all methods of such service are acceptable to God.

The essential and cardinal doctrines of both the Vedic and the Pauranic forms of religion are identical. They both recognise one great God. The main difference is that the former insists on the worship of the manifestations of Nature called Indra, Surya, Agni or Varuna and led up to the worship of the great Deity. The latter, on the other hand, worshipped the great Deity in his three-fold power of creation, preservation and destruction under the names of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva and legends of numerous other gods and goddesses were added to fill the popular mind and excite the popular imagination. Glimpses of the social life of the Hindus during this period may be obtained from the classic literature of the Vikramadityan age. Girls were not

married at an early age ; they were taught how to read and write. Music and painting were also considered female accomplishments. The marriage of widows was strictly prohibited. It was then that the cruel custom of *Sati* came into vogue.

(6) MODERN HINDU SOCIETY.

Chaitanya, the great apostle of love, inaugurated a new era in Hinduism. While the Vedas impart a true knowledge of the Divine nature, Sri Gauranga made the real presence as it were of the Deity felt as one real and loving Personality. The devout and sincere utterance of *Harinam*, as taught and exemplified by Chaitanya cannot fail to produce a galvanising effect, moving us to our very core, purifying and transporting us to ecstasy. Chaitanya, like Christ and Buddha, attained the highest spiritual development and his holy life is a grand object-lesson for learning unselfishness and self-denial, benevolence and purity. There is genuine joy only in the emotions of the heart ; sensibility is the whole man. It is the culture of the sentiments which constitutes real manhood. True religion consists in love of God and love of man. The doctrine of the Universal Brotherhood of mankind preached by Buddha appears to be reflected or shadowed forth in Chaitanya's teachings of love and compassion for our fellow creatures. But as Buddhism degenerated into Puritanism, so Chaitanya's message of love latterly resulted in *Byragism* or religious asceticism. Puritanism or asceticism can secure no useful purpose. It cannot be said that pleasures should be altogether avoided as great obstacles to virtue. They keep up our spirits and cheerfulness—the best means of preserving health. They refresh us after labour and renovate our strength. They are perfectly allowable provided they are innocent and enjoyed in moderation. It has been said that one cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. This does not mean that a proper and judicious use of wealth is ungodly, or that sincere devotion to God is inconsistent with good fortune. All that

it indicates is that the abuse or pride of wealth may lead to irreligion and vice. Wealth is a means to an end. When the end is lost sight of and wealth is sought for its own sake, when people die in harness, not knowing what the sweets of retirement are, or hoard up riches stinting themselves or making no use of them for the relief of suffering humanity, it is all the same whether they are rich or poor. A truly happy life is the result of two facts, the development of individual prosperity and the progress of humanity. These are the two essential elements of civilisation.

The secret of Indian regeneration lies in reviving what was noble in the past, in retaining what is good in our present state of society and in assimilating what is excellent in Western culture. In this view of the case, the Hindu joint-family system, which has called forth the admiration of even high-placed Englishmen, should be preserved, provided that it does not go to support idle hangers-on. On the other hand, *dalladoli* or party-spirit, which eats into the vitals of happy and harmonious rural life, should be put down with a high hand. Another source of evil is the popular belief in fatalism. Such a belief is not only philosophically absurd, but a great obstacle to progress making us lead indolent and inactive lives. For if one is led to think that his destiny has been fixed unalterably, he can hardly have any inducement for self-improvement. Far from doing any good, it sometimes leads to fatal consequences.

Whatever is catholic and rational demands our consideration ; whatever is illiberal and irrational ought to be rejected. There should be no misconception of the true nature of Hindu religion and social customs. Of such customs some are universal and invariable such as Marriage, Upanayana, Sradha etc., and others which are local or variable such as Garbadhana, Pumsavana etc. The former are intimately connected with Hindu religion. They form, so to speak, the backbone of the Hindu social and individual life. A Hindu by omitting to observe them ceases to be a Hindu.

But the latter class of rites and practices is of a local or rather festive character and their observance is merely optional.

It may not be out of place here to add a word of advice to the promoters of the movement called the Revival of Hinduism. If they carry on their work in the spirit of the teachings of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Geeta, adopting what is morally good and conducive to human happiness and rejecting what is morally bad and productive of human misery, their success is certain. If on the other hand, they try to revive the Hinduism of the Pauranic period with all its superstitions and absurd practices and customs, which are not only not adapted to the present state of society, but conflict, on essential points, with the religion taught in such original scriptures of the Hindus, as mentioned above, their mission is bound to fail.

THE GEETA OR THE HINDU BIBLE.

THE Bhagavat Geeta may not inaptly be called the Hindu Bible, as it contains philosophical and ethical precepts and principles equal in importance and value to the precepts of Jesus Christ. It is a treatise on theology communicated by Krishna to his friend and pupil Arjuna during a short suspension of the engagement between the Pandava and the Kuru armies. In point of poetical conception there is something peculiarly striking and magnificent in the introduction of this solemn discussion on the nature of the God-head and the destiny of man. According to Monier Williams, the Bhagavat Geeta lies in the Mahabharata like a pearl contributing with other numerous episodes to the tesselated character of that immense epic. The principal points discussed in the Geeta relate to the relations between soul and God, the universe and God, the properties of Nature and soul, and nature of the future existence, the nature of the steps—knowledge, work and faith—by which *yoga* or union of soul with God can be secured and the moral responsibility of man, etc.

THE RELATION BETWEEN SOUL AND GOD.

O Arjuna, elevate yourself, by concentrated faith, to the Supreme Being who pervades the universe and in whom all Nature is included.—*Chap. viii., v. 22.*

Purusha is that superior being who is called Moheshwara, the great God, the most high spirit, who in this body is the observer, the director, the protector, and the partaker.—*Chap. xiii., v. 22.*

Since God is distinct from senseless matter (which is liable to destruction) and is superior to the human soul, He is called Purushottama, the Supreme Being, not only in this world, but in the Vedas.—*Chap. xv., v. 18.*

The same view is expressed in the Upanishads.

Two beautiful birds rest on the same tree. They are mutual friends. One of them enjoys the fruit of good actions, the other fasts and is a mere spectator.—*Mundaka, Chap. i., v. 1.*

Ongkar is like a bow, the soul is like an arrow, and Brahma is the aim. Attain the Supreme Being even as an arrow reaches the object aimed at.—*Mundaka, Chap. ii., v. 8.*

The relation of soul to God has been likened to that of salt and water. As salt dissolves itself in water, the soul in its state of salvation becomes one with God.

THE RELATION BETWEEN GOD AND THE UNIVERSE.

According to the Geeta, the universe though distinct from God has been created by Him and rests in Him.

O Arjuna, know that God is the eternal seed of all Nature.—*Chap. vii., v. 10.*

There is nothing greater than God; and all things hang on him even as precious gems upon a string.—*Chap. vii., v. 7.*

Understand that all things rest in God, as the mighty air passing everywhere rests for ever in the ethereal space.—*Chap. ix., v. 6.*

According to the Geeta, God is not only the Creator but the Regulator of the universe. The action of nature is regulated by divine laws. Nature is handmaid to God, acting as it were under orders. By God's supervision Nature produces both the moveable and the immoveable. It is from this source that the universe is born.—*Chap. ix., v. 10.*

THE PROPERTIES OF NATURE AND SOUL.

Sri Krishna, in one place, has said that nothing is superior to God, but adopting the doctrine of the Sankhya Philosophy, has pronounced both Nature and Soul as eternal.—*Chap. xiii., v. 19.* If, according to the Geeta, Nature and Soul are eternal, then they stand on the same footing with God, that is to say, become co-eternal with Him. In that case God

cannot be superior to matter ; in other words, the universe resolves itself into an evolution of matter. How to reconcile this inconsistency ? In order to understand the Hindu Shastras the apparently contradictory opinions must be reconciled by taking a comprehensive view of the provisions as a whole and not in parts. Thus in *Chapter vii.*, verses 4 and 5, we find the following exposition of the matter :—The divine principle is divided into eight elements : earth, water, fire, air and ether, together with mind, understanding and self-consciousness. But besides this, know that God has another superior principle distinct from this, which is of a vital nature supporting this world. Here the origin of Nature and soul is traced to God. When it is said that Nature and soul are eternal it must be understood that they have no ultimate source or origin. They emanate from the divine essence.

THE FUTURE EXISTENCE.

The Geeta lays down doctrines as to the existence of a previous and a future world, but it does not seem to inculcate that human souls animate the bodies of inferior animals. Man is born with the privilege to know God ; how can he be born as a beast deprived of such privilege ? A man, however depraved he may be, knows when he does anything wrong. When he has the faculty of judging of what is right and wrong, how can he be degraded to the rank of brutes devoid of conscience ?

As the soul in this mortal frame finds infancy, youth and old age, so in some future existence will it find the same.—*Chap. ii., v. 13.*

As men put on new clothes, putting off the old, so the soul inhabits a new body quitting the old.—*Chap. ii., v. 22.*

The observers of the Vedic ordinances, after enjoying great heavenly bliss, are born in this world after the stock of their virtues is exhausted. This process of going to and fro (death and re-birth) continues so long as they are under the influence of desires.—*Chap. ix., v. 21.*

There are differences of opinion on the transmigration of souls. The best course for us should be to rise above the pretensions of hostile sects, and without being terrified by the fear of future punishment or allured by the hope of future happiness, we should be content with such practical religion as consists in performing the duties of life ; and uncontrolled by the dogmas of any particular creed we should strive to make the soul retire inward upon itself and by the efforts of its own contemplation admire the ineffable grandeur of the Being of beings, the Supreme Cause of all created things.

STEPS BY WHICH YOGA OR UNION WITH GOD CAN BE SECURED.

Knowledge. The soul cannot be pierced by weapons, burned by fire, dissolved by water, or dried up by air.—*Chap. ii., v. 23.*

The soul alone endures pain and pleasure.—*Chap. xiii., v. 20.*

So in the Upanishads. It is the enlightened soul that sees, touches, hears, smells, tastes, feels and acts.

It has been shown that the soul and the universe reside in the Supreme Being. When I know that my soul resides in God, I know also that the souls of others reside in Him. As I know I have a soul, so from the fact of seeing and hearing I know that there is something in me which sees and hears. I draw similar inferences with respect to the souls of others. As I know that all souls reside in God, so I know that all senseless matter resides also in the Supreme Being. Thus the knowledge of soul is the foundation of all knowledge relating to God and the universe. This is the sublimest of all truths. Like Descartes, Vyasa deduces in the Geeta the knowledge of God from a knowledge of the soul.

The Cartesian theory may be summed up thus :—

Nothing is certain but thought ; nor are there any truths except those which follow from the operation of our own conscience. We have no knowledge of our soul except as a

thinking substance, and it were easier for us to believe that the soul should cease to exist than that it should cease to think. As to man himself, what is he but the incarnation of thought ? For that which constitutes the man is not his bones nor his flesh nor his blood. These are the accidents, the incumbrances, the impediments of his nature. But the man himself is the thought. The invisible I, the ultimate fact of existence, the mystery of life, is this : I am a thing that thinks. This therefore is the beginning—the basis of our knowledge. The thought of each man is the last element to which analysis can carry us ; it is the Supreme Judge of everything, it is the starting point of all wisdom. Taking our stand on this ground we rise to the perception of the Deity. For our belief in His existence is an irrefragable proof that He exists. Otherwise whence does this belief arise ? Since nothing can come out of nothing, and since no effect can be without a cause, it follows that the idea we have of God must have an origin and this origin, whatever name we give it, is no other than God. Thus the ultimate proof of His existence is our idea of it. Instead therefore of saying that we know ourselves because we believe in God, we should rather say that we believe in God because we know ourselves. This is the order and precedence of things. The thought of each man is sufficient to prove his existence, and it is the only proof we can ever possess. Such therefore is the supremacy and dignity of the human intellect that even this highest of all matters flows from it as from its sole source, So that self-knowledge is the first step towards the attainment of true knowledge. The next step of *Jnana yoga* is equanimity of mind. The wise man is pleased with whatever he may, by chance, obtain, enduring heat and cold, devoid of malice, the same in prosperity and adversity, and is not subject to the bondage of this world though acting his part therein.—*Chap. iv., v. 23.*

Knowledge is superior to sacrificial offerings. Everything is perfected by knowledge.—*Chap. iv., v. 33.*

There is nothing so sacred on earth as knowledge ; that is, purifies man so much as knowledge. The man perfected by *yoga*, learns it within himself in time :—*Chap. iv., v. 38.*

Having due regard for precepts and through diligent application and self-restraint, one acquires knowledge which soon leads to the attainment of beatitude.—*Chap. iv., v. 39.*

As the tortoise can draw in his limbs, so when the yogee can exercise command over his passions so as to easily restrain them from their objects, his wisdom is confirmed.—*Chap ii., v. 58.*

Work. Man does not attain freedom from action by not performing action. By asceticism also he does not attain to final emancipation.—*Chap. iii., v. 4.*

The proper course is to perform our duties leaving the consequences in the hands of God. The Geeta inculcates the golden rule ; virtue is its own reward. He is the real sanyasi and yogee who performs his duties without any hope of reward. Doing wrong without regard to consequences is certainly reprehensible.

The objects of senses draw back from an abstinent person, but not so his passions ; but the passions fly from him who has seen the Supreme Being.—*Chap. ii., v. 59.*

The injunctions of Manu are also to the same effect.

Attain your all-desired end by subduing the mind and the senses so that the body may not be enfeebled—*Manu, Chap ii., v. 100.*

It is not advisable to enfeeble the body by fasting and mortification of the passions. If such austerities produce a negative result by disabling one from the commission of sins, they at the same time prove obstacles to positive virtue. The principal use of the senses and faculties of the mind is to promote the progress of the soul in knowledge and virtue. Those who instead of putting a proper check on the passions so that they may perform their legitimate functions try to destroy them altogether are certainly not wise.

Those who through indiscretion cause the outward and

inward functions of the body to deteriorate must certainly be set down as of demoniac nature.—*Chap. xvii, v. 6.*

On the other hand, intemperance or indulgence should be avoided. The best course is to observe the golden mean between austerity and intemperance.

Neither surfeit nor fasting, too much sleep or utter absence of it, is favourable to the practice of *yoga*—*Chap. vi, v. 16.*

The harmony and free development of life can only be attained by exercising its principal functions boldly and without fear. These functions are of two kinds ; one set of them increasing the happiness of the mind, the other set that of the body. For, every enjoyment by which no man is injured is innocent, and every innocent enjoyment is praiseworthy because it assists in diffusing the spirit of interest and satisfaction which is favourable to the practice of benevolence towards others.

Faith. The third step of *yoga* is faith. When the heart is purified by the performance of our duties and when a knowledge of our soul and of God is attained, faith spontaneously springs up in the mind. When we realise the relationship of father and son in God and ourselves, we cannot fail to revere and admire Him and love our fellow-creatures as brothers. Mere dry knowledge and unfeeling action without faith may lead to hardness of heart incompatible with that lowliness, benevolence and piety which spring from faith. A harmonious observance of the three processes—knowledge, work and faith—is indispensably necessary for attaining success in *yoga* or devotion.

They alone are principal *yogees* who are devoted to God praying to Him with reverence.—*Chap. vii, v. 2.*

And prayer consists in loving God and doing His will.

God forthwith delivers those from the terror of this world of mortality who are devoted to Him and who leave all consequences of their acts in His hands, who contemplate and pray to Him with concentrated reverence.—*Chap. xii, vs. 6, 7.*

THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MAN.

Sin is an obstacle to *yoga*. Is it God that makes us commit sins or do we commit them of our own free will? There cannot be any doubt that we are the masters of our own actions whether sinful or virtuous. God gives us moral force to follow the paths of righteousness and resist temptations to vice. But it is inconsistent with Divine nature to corrupt mankind by wicked thoughts or evil influences. We cannot conceive the all-merciful Father to be so cruel as to punish us for our sins, having himself incited us to them. Man himself is liable for his sins and reaps the fruit of his virtue. Men commit sins through the influence of lust and anger. This lust is an obstacle to salvation, being strong and insatiable.—*Chap. iii., v. 37.*

You should therefore first subdue your passions and get the better of this sinful destroyer of wisdom and knowledge.

—*Chap. iii., v. 41.*

These extracts clearly show that the Geeta holds man responsible for his sins. The following *sloka* may give rise to a different view, but a right reading of what follows and precedes it, reconciles this apparent inconsistency.

All propensities, good or evil, proceed from God. They are dependent on Him, but He is not subject to them—*Chap. vii., v. 12.*

But the 15th verse in the same chapter clearly lays down that delusion (*maya*) is the source of all ignorance and moral turpitude. They alone do not pray to and revere God who are sinful, ignorant and mean-minded, who have lost their wisdom through delusion (*maya*) and who are ungodly.—*Chap. vii., v. 15.*

God resides in the breast of every moral being, revolving with His supernatural power all things which are mounted on the universal wheel of time.—*Chap. xviii., v. 61.*

God does not influence us viciously, but uses us as instruments for the fulfilment of His good design. It requires purity of heart to know what is agreeable to Him.

**THE NATURE OF PRAYER OR DIVINE SERVICE
PRESCRIBED IN THE GEETA.**

Whatever may be the mode in which men pray to God, He serves them according to it.—*Chap. iv., v. II.*

Thus the view of religion inculcated in the Geeta is not narrow or sectarian, but broad and catholic. Those who pray with reverence to other gods in fact pray to God though irregularly.—*Chap. ix., v. 23.*

The Geeta lays much stress on the practice of morality as a means of securing the special favour of God and thereby attaining salvation.

One who bears malice to nobody, is friendly and kind towards all, exempt from pride and selfishness, who is the same in prosperity and adversity, always cheerful, forbearing, constantly devout, self-restrained, and has a firm faith in God devoting his mind and wisdom to His service, is His favourite.—*Chap. xii., vv. 13, 14.*

According to Manu the ten essential features of virtue (*dharma*) are—patience, forgiveness, self-control, absence of cupidity, purity, subjection of the senses or passions, wisdom, learning, truthfulness, equanimity or want of irritability.

Religion may be considered under two general heads : the first comprehends what we are to believe, the other what we are to practise for the regulation of our conduct and the discharge of our duties. The one is the province of faith, the other of morality. Faith seems to draw its principal, if not all its excellence, from the influence it has upon morality, and no article of faith can be true and authentic that weakens or subverts morality, which is the practical part of religion.

Religious rites and ceremonies are intended to produce moral results—to form an excellent moral character by purifying the heart. It cannot be said that purity of heart can be attained only by minute and punctilious observance of such rites and ceremonies and by no other means. Such being the case, want of uniformity in their observance is not

of any practical moment. Moral efficacy is the true test of their usefulness, and if that is secured otherwise, religious antipathy or persecution based upon such want of uniformity is highly unjustifiable. Proselytising zeal to be of any value should be directed to make converts to ideas of sound morality which are invariable, and not to those religious or customary formalities which are variable. Besides rites serve only to smother living piety beneath mechanical forms. The moral standard being common to all forms of faith, can easily reconcile all differences in them and meet with little or no opposition.

WHAT IS RATIONAL HAPPINESS ACCORDING TO THE GEETA.

Happiness has been divided into the three classes as it is founded upon true knowledge or wisdom, covetousness or lust and ignorance or delusion. There are three qualities arising from nature ; Satwa, truth ; Rajas, passion ; and Tamas, darkness ; and each of them confines the incorruptible spirit in the body—*Chap. xiv., v. 5.*

From the rational attribute (satwa guna) arises wisdom, from the carnal attribute (raja guna) covetousness or lust and from the delusive attribute (tama guna) error, delusion and ignorance.—*Chap. xiv., v. 17.*

That is rational happiness which flows from habit, puts an end to miseries, proceeds from self-knowledge and though at first is bitter like poison, proves in the long run to be as sweet as nectar.—*Chap. xviii., vv. 36, 37.*

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION UPON INDIANS.

It is natural for the rulers of a country to feel the necessity of introducing into their dependency their own system of education. How far the alien system is really useful to the children of the soil, depends, to a great extent, upon its suitability to their social peculiarities and demands. Speaking of English education and having regard to our entire interest, it may at once be said that it should not be solely resorted to. The tendency of English education is certainly towards promoting material rather than spiritual welfare. It should not be permitted to become an all-embracing system of culture, to the exclusion of our own to which we have become accustomed for centuries and which is more congenial to our tastes and habits.

The civilisation and literature of the Norman conquerors of England instead of being able to supplant, became merged in, those of the Anglo-Saxons. As a small body has a tendency to be attracted toward one of greater density and magnitude, the more complete and perfect system generally absorbs the lesser one. English education was introduced into this country with a view to extend its blessings, to make its beneficial influence felt by us and to raise us in the scale of nations. Experience has shown that it is not a pure and unmixed blessing. The Indian, pre-eminently the Hindu, ideal is more comprehensive tending as it does to the development of both intellectual and moral culture. This accounts for the large measure of interest which oriental literature and civilisation have created in England, Germany, America and other civilised countries.

English literature deals with subjects of vast and varied nature. It has thrown a flood of light upon almost every topic capable of furthering the interests of civilisation and

culture. Scientific and philosophical researches have considerably widened the domain of knowledge. The result is a large addition of mechanical arts and contrivances for the comfort of human life. So far as knowledge can contribute to the material advancement of a nation labouring under the disadvantages of a political dependence, the result has certainly been beneficial. Intellectual progress and the benefits accruing from it, circumscribed though they are by the very situation of the governed, have no doubt, been attained. What we are in need of for clothing and feeding the body and the mind, has been in some measure attained. The fashionable wants, delicacies and tastes of English life have been, to some extent, supplied. The problem which we are called upon to solve is whether these outward advantages are the be-all and end-all of individual and national existence. Improvement of the intellect and physical comforts, however, do not constitute the perfection of existence. High development or perfection can only be attained by spiritual elevation being added to these.

The benefits of English education have, no doubt, been manifold. That education has made us acquainted with a language and literature which for copiousness of vocabulary, variety and vigour of expression, simplicity of grammatical structure and unvarnished directness, is the best vehicle of thought on a variety of subjects. Through the medium of English literature the East and the West have been brought into very close and intimate relations. It has awakened in our young men English ideas of self-reliance and independence, political aspirations and desire of advancement, a spirit of manliness and courage to assert and enforce rights and privileges, patience and perseverance to accomplish beneficial schemes in the face of great obstacles and difficulties. Disregarding caste prejudices educated Hindus are undertaking sea-voyages to England to turn out civilians, barristers, wranglers &c. They form the major portion of the subordinate judicial and executive Indian service. The learned pro-

fessions of law; medicine and engineering belong almost exclusively to them. Animated by the spirit of research they have begun to explore the treasures of ancient thought locked up in Sanskrit works dealing with philosophy, theology &c. Clubs and associations, an independent native press, schools and colleges—all these and other media for the diffusion of useful knowledge—are mainly due to the influence of English education. The English language is, again, the principal medium for the communication and interchange of thoughts throughout a great portion of the habitable globe. The English being the foremost nation in the world and having relations commercial, political and diplomatic with the old world and the new, their language is cultivated far and wide from the necessities arising out of such relations. To the people of India who live under English administration a knowledge of the English language is of the utmost importance. It is the principal key for opening the door to Indian public service. If you wish to attract the notice of the reading public, if you are for winning eminence in any profession or undertaking, a thorough knowledge of English is a *sine qua non*. English therefore is fast becoming the prevailing language of the country. It is the language of the courts, of public meetings, of epistolary correspondence and newspapers. It is talked in mansions and cottages alike. The cultivation of the English language being a matter of inevitable necessity to our countrymen, an examination of the question in what respects we have gained and lost by it, becomes absolutely necessary. Having pointed out some of the advantages of English education, we now proceed to show how it has produced an injurious effect upon our young men in some directions.

In the first place it is a well-known fact that most of the students while at school or college show an utter disregard for discipline and the rules of the institutions to which they belong. Their disorderly conduct in the class-room makes the work of instruction difficult. They seem to attend school

not so much to learn as to spend their time idly and mischievously. A few of the boys in each class are no doubt well-behaved and attentive. But their morals are in danger of being contaminated by contact with naughty class-mates who try their best to bring all down to their own level. They throw serious obstacles in the way of instruction by playing tricks and making themselves vexatious and insolently noisy. Learned teachers are often found unable to maintain the discipline of their class. This evil prevails in a greater measure in the Calcutta educational institutions than in those of the Muffasil. In the metropolis there is rivalry and keen competition among private institutions. The proprietors are often disposed to be indulgent to refractory students. They do not enforce strict discipline for fear of pecuniary loss. With most of them pecuniary gain is the principal motive for maintaining their institutions. The result is, as it must necessarily be, inefficiency in the tutorial staff and nominal teaching. Discipline is the life and soul of an educational institution. As it is, the students turned out of our schools and colleges are, for the most part, untractable young men. They are utterly unfitted for the duties of life. It is this that lies at the root of the dissatisfaction which Englishmen feel for young Bengal.

To insolent untractableness and stubborn obstinacy may be added a spirit of cynicism and *Nil Admirari*. This is not confined to students of schools and colleges but has infected those who have passed the state of pupilage. Briefless juniors of the Bar are often found to sit idle in the pleaders' libraries, adjoining court-houses gossiping and chattering their time away. They amuse themselves by cracking ill-natured and disagreeable jokes at the expense of some one whom they find unversed in fashionable arts. They do not spare even their seniors who do not happen to have achieved success in the profession. It is a well-known fact that merit does not always succeed at the Bar. The most intelligent and learned lawyer often fails to

command a practice commensurate with his ability in consequence of want of tact. Equipped with tact, push and skill a less talented fellow-practitioner succeeds pecuniarily. These young limbs of the law are not above the popular worship of fortune in preference to merit. They court the favour of their successful seniors disregarding those who have not been comparatively successful. Invidious distinctions of this kind are not only a breach of professional etiquette, but betray a lamentably imperfect training and defective education. These observations are made not in a spirit of carping criticism, but with a view to awaken in our youngmen a sense of their impropriety of conduct. To know a disease is half the cure. If they have the candour to admit their fault, the remedy will follow as a matter of course. It behoves them to look upon life as a serious affair and not as a period of frolic, and their success or failure in it will depend upon their good use or neglect of the opportunities at their disposal. To be forewarned is forearmed. To be able to come off victorious in the battle of life it will not do to be lulled into a sense of security but to be always alert and on the look-out.

The effect of English education and the consequent aping of English manners and customs are traceable in our domestic and family organization. The Hindu joint-family system, for instance, is a time-honoured institution. The bonds of affection uniting the several members of a Hindu family were hitherto very strong. The elder brother was looked upon as a father by his younger brothers. The government of the family was patriarchal, the head or *Karta* being recognised as the sole arbiter of its destinies. Every member implicitly obeyed his commands which were always dictated by a disinterested solicitude for the welfare of the whole family. Property belonging to the family remained joint and undivided thereby increasing or maintaining its social status and prestige. But with the growth of the new ideas of personal property, individual independence and habits of exclusiveness

evidently imbibed from examples of English life, a joint Hindu family is now-a-days an exception rather than the rule. The spectacle is often witnessed of a son engaged in litigation against his father, or of a brother against a brother. Family property is parcelled out amongst numerous members with the result that a poor fraction is allotted to an individual member which reduces him to insignificance and sometimes to even poverty. No doubt there are certain disadvantages of the Hindu joint family system but balancing these against its advantages the latter will be found to outweigh the former.

Another injurious effect of English education is the gradual decline of the spiritual element which formed a conspicuous feature of the ancient Indo-Aryan civilisation. The genius of English or in general of occidental civilisation is mainly materialistic. Simplicity in the physical surroundings of life and a high ideal of spiritual culture were the characteristics of the former, whereas self-assertion, intellectual refinement and aesthetic culture are the striking features of the latter. Commercial greed and love of money are the predominating springs of action of the English nation. Comfortable means of living are what they principally care for. Perseverance and energy, dauntless courage and defiance of danger—execelent virtues no doubt—are often shown in the attainment of this end. Of course love of individual aggrandisement is a natural desire and as such it should not be stigmatised as a vice but when it is divorced from moral or spiritual culture, when it is not subordinated to the superior claims of justice, benevolence and humanity, when it becomes a passion and inordinate ambition regardless of the nature of the means whereby to achieve it, it is certainly to be condemned.

Pride is a sister vice to ambition. Security of life and property, equality of political status, and freedom of thought and speech have given birth to this supercilious spirit in the English nation. Their own poet charges them with this failing.

"Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
I see the lords of humankind pass by".

The other vices of English civilization graphically described in the novels of Dickens which injuriously affect the people of India are hypocrisy, and conventionalism, drunkenness and litigiousness. These have taken the place of their ancient virtues of sobriety and plain living, frankness and neighbourly sympathy. Mr. H. Mackenzie formerly a judge in India says:—"The longer we have had these districts the more apparently do lying and litigation prevail; the more are the foundations of society shaken." The remarks of Captain Westmacott are also to the same effect. "It is greatly to be deplored" he says, "that in places the longest under our rule there is the largest amount of depravity and crime. I have no hesitation in affirming that in the Hindu and Mussalman cities removed from European intercourse there is much less depravity than either in Calcutta, Madras or Bombay where Europeans chiefly congregate."

To recapitulate briefly what we have said in this short discourse. The introduction of English education into India had for its object the furtherance of the best interests of the people. Although some material comforts have resulted from it, its injurious influence from a moral point of view goes a great way to neutralise them. The recipients of high English education cannot utilise their knowledge to any great extent on account of the political disabilities under which they labour, while the gradual adoption of a foreign civilisation with its vices is eating into the vitals of the purity and simplicity, of individual and social life. The country is getting poorer and poorer day by day. The costly machinery of Government, the drainage of wealth in consequence of the employment for the higher ranks of service of non-resident European officials taking no permanent interest in the country and the frequent occurrence of famines on account of over-assessment of land revenue and taxation in various forms, if

unchecked, are sure to bring about national decay. Simplicity, economy, diligence and sobriety are the only means that can stand us in good stead in the hard struggle for existance that has set in. If we lose these excellent traits of character by contracting the vices of an alien civilisation, our lot will be miserable beyond measure. No human institution is perfect. After making due allowance for the shortcomings of such civilisation there is yet left much that is good and admirable. We should eschew the bad and adopt the good. An indiscriminate and wholesale adoption of foreign manners and customs to the exclusion of our own which have proved to be useful, congenial and suitable to us, can not but lead to degeneration and denationalisation.

HOW THE DIFFERENT CONDITIONS OF HUMANITY SHOULD BE REGULATED SO AS TO ENSURE PERFECTION.

OUR ideas of life vary with our religious notions, habits, occupations and dispositions of mind. The religious ascetic practises austerities, mortifies the passions and denounces sensual pleasures. The epicure or the man of pleasure sets the highest value on eating, drinking and being merry. The Yogi or the religious devotee cuts off all connection with worldly affairs, becomes a recluse and devotes himself to the contemplation of God and Nature. The wordly man immerses himself in the bustle and tumult of the world having no time or inclination to think of spiritual matters. The philosopher or the learned man confines himself to abstract thoughts and the cultivation of his mind taking little care for manly sports and the development of physical powers. The mechanic and the farmer, from the very nature of their occupations, bestow no special thought on the improvement of their mind except such as is involved in handicraft and tillage. Thus every man proposes to himself as the ideal of life an exclusive attention to the circumstances and idiosyncrasies of the condition of life he has happened to be placed in. Does not such a scheme disclose an imperfect or incomplete life? It is only the harmonious development of all our faculties physical, intellectual and moral or spiritual that constitutes perfect humanity which is certainly the highest ideal of life and therefore its true aim.

We proceed now to enquire whether the element of perfection is contained in any of the different conditions of life led by the religious ascetic, the man of pleasure or business, the philosopher or the peasant. Does the life of the anchorite present a correct view of its true aim? Does he not owe a duty to his fellow-creatures and is it fulfilled when

he remains aloof from all commerce with them ? Besides, what is the test of judging of his worth except his power to resist temptations and remain uncontaminated in the midst of allurements and corruption ? Only such persons are patient and self-restrained who can preserve the equanimity of their mind in the presence of causes to disturb it. There is not a sufficient trial of one's principles unless they are put into practice. It is only through knowledge, work and faith that a religious devotee can expect to realise the object of his contemplation. A firm faith in the goodness of God based upon rational knowledge and fructified into practical holiness is the best means of perfecting humanity. As worldly success is attained by useful exertions and skilful adoption of suitable means to compass a desirable end, so a holy life is the result of a due performance of our duties to ourselves, to our fellow-creatures and to God. In other words, self-love, benevolence and piety which form a comprehensive moral code for the regulation of our conduct. Will a prudent father be satisfied with his son, if to the neglect of his studies and the means of promoting his future prospects, he spends his time in recounting his obligations to him and accepting the place of his servant ?

Does not the father wish his boy to be as worthy as himself and maintain his rank in life ? In this way the design of the Heavenly Father is manifest. We are made to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow ; we are to fulfil the high mission of life by being useful to ourselves as well as to society. We serve God by serving the cause of humanity. Our prayer to God consists in loving Him and doing His will. We instinctively know what is agreeable to him. We have an intuitive knowledge of right and wrong. What conscience is to the inner or the moral world, the senses are to the outer or the physical world. We have a moral sense making us cognisant of our internal nature and physical organs revealing to us the external nature. Both soul and nature are the objects of our observation and contemplation.

Such mental processes lead to the idea of the Creator of soul and the Author of nature. Science facilitates our knowledge of the Divine Essence forming a sound groundwork of our faith. *Karma* or the performance of our duties perfects such knowledge and develops humanity. Thus a union of the three elements—a true knowledge of the Divine Nature leading to practical morality and rational faith is necessary to accomplish the end of life. Faith without knowledge is liable to become blind ; work without a knowledge of our duties is liable to become misdirected and aimless ; mere knowledge without faith has an atheistical and demoralising tendency ; without practice it is worth nothing and unproductive of any practical good. The life of a religious devotee, must, therefore, in order to be successful be practical as well as contemplative, benevolent and devotional.

As to the life of a man of mere pleasure, poets and moralists have depicted in glowing colours its hollowness and frivolousness. History furnishes abundant examples of the unfortunate and miserable end of the voluptuary. Not only individuals but nations failed to prosper in consequence of unbridled luxury and licentiousness. Extravagance and dissipation caused the ruin of Sardanapluses and Cleopatras, of Roman and Mogul empires. The Epicurean doctrine as a means of attaining true happiness is thus found to be dangerous, unsound and opposed to the principle of morality and rational enjoyment. It cannot be said, however, that pleasures should altogether be avoided in any scheme of life. They keep up our spirits and cheerfulness—the best means of preserving health. They refresh our labour and renovate our strength. They make labour sweet. They are perfectly allowable provided they are innocuous. Pleasures being a sort of relief to labour are means to an end. If exclusively indulged in, they pall upon the senses and defeat their own object. Such being the case, a continuous round of pleasures cannot afford true happiness and satisfy our aspirations.

The man of business seeks happiness in active pursuits, the acquisition of wealth and worldly prosperity. Wealth no doubt is the principal means of securing our comfort and ease. Wealth is a real and substantial thing which ministers to our pleasures, increases our comfort, multiplies our resources and not unfrequently alleviates our sufferings. Is desire of wealth producing materialistic tendency really incompatible with our spiritual welfare ? It has been said that one can not serve God and Mammon at the same time. It does not mean that a proper and judicious use of wealth is ungodly or that an unostentatious and sincere devotion to God is inconsistent with good fortune. All that it indicates is simply this : that an abuse or pride of wealth may lead to irreligion and vice. Wealth like pleasures is means to an end. When that end is lost sight of, and wealth is sought for its own sake, when people die in harness not knowing what the sweets of retirement are or hoard up riches stinting themselves or withholding them from the public, it is all the same whether they possess them or not. There is hardly any limit to human ambition. Love of wealth and love of power are the strongest springs of human action. The higher one ascends, the more inclined is he to ascend higher still. Desires are not satisfied with enjoyment but they grow in intensity like fire fed by ghee or clarified butter. The moral deduced from the human disposition to feel inordinate desire and ambition is that rational contentment is the secret of happiness. No amount of earthly possession can satisfy the cravings of our nature unless our spiritual aspirations are satisfied also. A truly happy life is the result of two facts, the development of material prosperity and the progress of humanity. These two elements are closely connected, the one with the other. The inward is reformed by the outward as the outward by the inward. Civilisation is the perfecting of civil life, the development of society properly so-called, of the relations of men among themselves. It is the result of two facts, the development of social activity.

and that of individual activity, the progress of society and the progress of humanity.

As to the philosopher or the learned man, all that need be said is that his wisdom consists in the practical application of the knowledge concerning God, Soul and Nature and the discharge of duties which his enquiries have defined. What a vast sphere of usefulness lies before him ; it is his province to discover truth and dispel the darkness of superstition and falsehood. In order to guard against errors he must proceed in a spirit of scepticism and earnest enquiry. In fact it is this spirit of scepticism which has remedied the three fundamental errors of the olden time, errors which made the people in Politics too confiding, in Science too credulous, in Religion too intolerant. The groundwork of faith is reason. Reason gives us knowledge, while faith only gives us belief which is part of knowledge and therefore inferior to it. It is by reason and not by faith that we must discriminate in religious matters and by reason alone that we can distinguish truth from falsehood. By the teaching of philosophy we should rise above the pretensions of hostile sects and without being terrified by the fear of future punishment or allureled by the hope of future happiness we should be content with such practical religion as consists in performing the duties of life ; and uncontrolled by the dogmas of any particular creed, we should strive to make the soul retire inward upon itself and by the efforts of its own contemplation, admire the ineffable grandeur of the Being of Beings, the Supreme cause of all created things. The charge of atheism or irreligion is commonly laid at the door of science. A little consideration will show that so far from science being irreligious, it is the neglect of science which is irreligious—it is the refusal to observe and understand the properties of the wonderful phenomena, internal and external which is irreligious. "Devotion to Science," says Herbert Spencer, "is a tacit worship, a tacit recognition of worth in the things studied and by implication in their cause. It is not a mere lip-homage but

a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought and labour." What is then wanted to make the life of the philosopher happy and perfect ? Out of him should come all things that are written and debated among men of thought. His broad humanity should transcend all sectional lines.

Having considered the aims and objects of life of the several conditions of humanity exhibited in such characters as the religious ascetic, the man of pleasure or business and the philosopher, we come to notice the peasant or the poor man. Poverty has a chastening as well as a demoralising effect. It has its advantages as well as disadvantages. If his pleasures and comforts are few, his wants also are limited. Every condition of life, be it high or low, is not altogether free from inconveniences and anxieties. There is no circumstance which has not its peculiar blessings. Its blessings serve to neutralise its curses. The rich and the great admire the simplicity of pastoral life and the quiet, tranquillity and natural scenery of the country. The peasant seems to pant after the pomp and grandeur and the bustle and tumult of cities. Here as in everything else, the golden mean between two extremes should be observed. There should be neither uncouth rusticity nor insincere and modish refinement ; the fashionable world should grow free and easy ; and the unlettered multitude decorous and respectful. An unconstrained carriage and a certain openness of behaviour are the height of good breeding. While learning good manners, the villager is not to exchange his artless, guileless and simple habits for the deceitful and vicious life of the townsman. With regard to the populace it may be generally remarked that their strength lies in union ; then their voice is very powerful—*Vox populi vox dei*, but they should not be riotous and tumultuous like the Nihilists and Socialists of Europe but governed by religious influences like the masses of India. Let them remember that they are a unit in the great social scheme. That agrarian disputes are blunders, that by rising against

their natural protectors, they simply increase the miseries of their situation. They should not take the law into their own hands, but act constitutionally and under proper leaderships. Let them be economical, prudent and simple in their domestic and private life, law-abiding, orderly and discreet in their public life. Thus the true aim of life is the working out of the high ideal, embracing the two-fold perfection of social and individual progress. Every condition of life while retaining its peculiar virtues is to grow by assimilating those of others normally and naturally. Activity physical, intellectual and moral is the normal condition of life, while inertia and objectless existence is worse than death.

"Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate ;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait."

THE PRESENT MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE INDIANS.

AN objection is raised in some quarters to granting the people of India self-government unless and until they are sufficiently, morally and socially advanced. India under Hindu rule gave birth to a civilisation unique in the history of the world,—a civilisation in whch the spiritual and the everlasting were preferred to the material and the transient. Although no pains were spared to develop the arts and sciences which minister to the comforts of life and promote material prosperity, the bread-and-butter sciences were held to be of minor importance in comparison with the science of which the aim is spiritual perfection. Generally speaking, the genius of the ancient Hindu civilisation was spiritualistic, the genius of Western civilisation is materialistic. Simplicity in physical life and a high ideal of intellectual and spiritual life were the characteristics of the former, whereas self-assertion, intellectual refinement and æsthetic culture are the marked features of the latter. For a century and a half India has been under English rule. During this period numerous schools and colleges have been established for the education of the people. What has been the general tendency of English education in India? Has it made the Indians simple in their habits and modes of living and helped them in attaining spiritual and moral culture? Has its principal aim been to promote the cultivation and development of those traits of their character which were the foundation of the former greatness of India, and by means of which alone they can hope to regain their old place in the civilised world? On the contrary, our educated countrymen have imbibed notions of a high standard of living to which they are not accustomed and which in most cases it is beyond their means to adopt. As a natural result of their training, they have begun to entertain high aspirations after equal rights and privileges

with Englishmen which it is the policy of the Government not to countenance and encourage. Physical deterioration has been the result of a system of education necessitating a high pressure of brain-work on account of a somewhat lengthy curriculum and a defective mode of examination tending to encourage cramming rather than growth of originality. Most of the students can seldom spare time for physical exercises. The good effect of such exercises is, again, lost upon those who occasionally take part in them owing to the violation of certain rules which are the necessary conditions of their utility, *viz.*, rules concerning regularity and moderation. Occasional and irregular exercises avail nothing. Immoderate and violent exercises defeat the object which they are intended to secure.

The defective character of the system of University education is further marked by the absence of any systematic provision for moral training. The Government of India sometime ago issued circular orders on the subject of moral training and discipline of students laying down provisions on the following points :—

Gymnastics and field exercises, punishment for breach of discipline, good conduct registers, hostels and boarding houses for students, the appointment of selected boys as monitors, teaching having a direct bearing on personal conduct, removal of boys who at a certain age fail to rise to a certain class and inter-school rules defining the conditions under which pupils should pass from one school to another.

It is not known how far these regulations have improved the morals of our young men who should always bear in mind that both as to physical and moral training much depends upon themselves. As they cannot become good athletes without undergoing systematic physical exercises, so their morals cannot be expected to be well improved, without their leading moral lives. Study of the rules of gymnasium and morality is no doubt good in its way in furnishing our young men with knowledge of these subjects, but their

morals can no more be improved by mere study of ethical textbooks than a nation can be rendered virtuous by Act of Parliament.

Moral training is the most indispensable requisite for the great secret of success in work of every kind. Practice, and not mere precepts, is most effectual in perfecting humanity. A grain of practice is worth a bushel of precepts. "Honesty is the best principle" should be our motto. Meditation is of immense use in the sphere of morals. Many of the vices and misdeeds which are in evidence every day are mainly due to thoughtlessness. Our faculty of conscience judges of what is right and wrong. But it often remains dormant unless roused to action by meditation and reflection. The voice of this monitor is often drowned in the bustle and tumult of the world. Habitual disregard of its warning as a consequence of want of thought is followed by a state of moral torpitude highly deplorable.

Not only moral but military training of the people is neglected by Government. The advantages of such a training are too well known to require any detailed specification. Far from being trained in the martial art, the people, through the operation of the Arms Act, which is a standing slur upon their tried loyalty, have been disabled from defending themselves from the depredations of wild beasts and foreign invasion.

The Government has very wisely resolved to pursue a policy of religious toleration in India. Her people profess different religions and are divided into many races and tribes forming members of distinct castes and creeds. Is there any bond of unity by means of which these heterogeneous fractions can be welded into one harmonious whole? That such a union is highly desirable in the interests of progress and civilization, does not admit of a moment's doubt. The Indian National Congress has done much, and is destined to do more, towards Indian National unification. That patriotic and influential political body is really a representative assembly of

the different Indian communities. Its sole aim is to emancipate the people from political thraldom. The burden of its agitation which is highly constitutional and conducted, in a loyal, though firm, spirit, is a well-recognised principle that taxation without necessary and adequate representation is a bad form of Government. It underlies all reforms and is the focus to which the grievances of the people are concentrated. Political liberty which may properly be called the philosopher's stone, turns the jarring discords of different and conflicting interests into a harmonious community of interest. Such being the mission of the Congress, it is through ignorance of its scope and functions that Indian officialdom assumes an attitude of hostility towards it.

The regeneration of India depends as much upon social reforms and material prosperity as upon the extension of political rights. A prevailing spirit of enquiry and enterprise is urgently demanded in the interests of national advancement. Let the people of India boldly undertake sea-voyages to England and other enlightened and civilised countries with a view to imbibe Western culture and obtain a knowledge of the arts and sciences, so indispensably necessary to develop the resources of India. Let them examine the vast workshops, learn the use and working of machines, the improved methods of agriculture, manufacturing and other industries, satisfy their eyes and be deeply impressed with the wonderful achievements of a combined application of capital and skill. It is idle to urge that the Indians are poor and cannot afford to defray the expenses of travel to, and residence in, a foreign country. Let them form Joint Stock Companies, for no institution is so beneficial and useful for the purpose of utilising the small savings of the middle classes in India. It is too late in the day for orthodox Hindus to object to sea-voyage. That sea-voyage for educational and commercial purposes is perfectly allowable, has been admitted even by several distinguished representatives of orthodox Hinduism. The educated Indians must shake

off the bondage of superstitious customs and beliefs if they earnestly desire to have their high aspirations satisfied. Patriotism is a corrective of superstition and the more we feel for our country, the less we feel for our sects. Thus it is that in the progress of civilisation the scope of the intellect is widened ; its horizon is enlarged ; its sympathies are multiplied ; and as the range of its excursions is increased the tenacity of its grasp is slackened until at length it begins to perceive that the infinite variety of circumstances necessarily causes an infinite variety of opinions ; that a creed which is good and natural for one man may be bad and unnatural for another, and that so far from interfering with the march of religious convictions, we should be content to look into ourselves, search our own hearts, purge our own souls, soften the evil of our own passions and extirpate that insolent and intolerant spirit which is at once the cause and effect of theological controversy. In the natural march of intellect superstition must give way to enlightened views. No small wonder then that the rapid progress of knowledge among our countrymen has not eradicated such superstitious customs as enforced widowhood, early marriage, wasteful extravagance on occasions of domestic and religious ceremonies, invidious caste distinctions, prejudice against sea-voyage, etc. In order that our progress in civilisation may be normal and permanent, it is necessary that the social, religious and political reforms should go hand in hand. In the legitimate progress of a nation political innovations should keep pace with religious innovations, so that the people may increase their liberty while they diminish their superstitions.

From what has been said above, we are not to be understood to mean that the people of India should imitate an alien civilisation so as to become thoroughly denationalised in their habits, instincts, and traditions. That is not the way to attain genuine progress. Natural growth and assimilation, and not a complete metamorphosis, is what appears to be the proper course. Every nation possesses some virtues or advantages

peculiarly its own. For instance, in India the love of parents for children and of children for parents has scarcely any counterpart in England. Parental and filial affection occupies among us the place which is taken in England by the passion between the sexes. Love, as depicted in English novels, plays a small part in Indian society, for the choice of a mate is not often left by Indian custom to the parties concerned ; but its absence is more than made up by the intensity of the attachment that exists between members of the same family. The family in the old sense of the word still exists in India. In England it is a very different institution. "I am not blind," says Sir Henry Cotton in a letter addressed to an Indian friend, "to the excellences of your family organisation, and desire to especially acknowledge the admirable domestic influence it exercises upon its members. As an Englishman with my home in a country where the family tie is comparatively lightly regarded and the members of a family tear themselves and almost without compunction, and settle apart from one another in all the quarters of the globe, I cannot but appreciate the immense affectionate superiority of the organisation you enjoy. Properly speaking, it is only by the natural cultivation of the family affections that a man is able instinctively to call into existence dispositions calculated to fit him individually for public life. In your family arrangements, you possess therefore, the necessary panoply of life, and I trust that the high recognition of the urgency of domestic sympathy will never be forgotten whatever may be the vicissitudes the Hindu joint family is destined to experience." There is good and there is evil in both the Indian and the English systems, but it is far from certain that the advantage is wholly on the latter side.

Again, the life of the ancient Hindus was materially simple but intellectually noble and spiritually sublime. To revive what was noble in the past, to retain what is good in the present state of our society, and adopt what is found excellent in

Western civilisation, is the secret of the regeneration of a fallen country. To adopt any other course will end either in pseudo reforms, forced, unnatural and temporary growth, retrograde move or stationary stagnation. India is now in a state of transition. Everything is tending towards the consummation of a rapid change in our ideas and habits. There is no longer the overpowering domination of priesthood—slavery of the Sudras and intolerant bigotry and sway of the Brahmins. Intellectual and moral excellence, and not the mere accident of caste or birth, is gradually beginning to be recognised as the test of respectability and social position. Superstitious customs are loosening their hold on the public mind. Formerly it was considered as a positive sin to allow a Sudra or a *Mlechha* (a Mohammanan or a European) to occupy the same seat with a Brahmin. Now a Brahmin is often seen chewing *pan* or smoking tobacco after the native fashion, while sitting in close contact with a *Mlechha* without exciting any notice or adverse comment. There is a tendency of the different castes to be welded into one harmonious whole and formed into social unity short of intermarriage. These distinctions are also likely to be swept away with the progress of education which is a great leveller. With the increase of security of property, capital instead of being hoarded as in old times is being more freely applied. Hereditary prejudice against agricultural and industrial pursuits and other handicrafts is being slowly removed. The people are now found more ready to assert their rights and have them adjudicated in courts of law. In a word, in spite of the drawback of English education, it has to a great extent, resulted in the accumulation and diffusion of useful knowledge, the dissemination of enlightened views and the promotion of the general welfare of the country. It has given birth to a new order of thought and an improved state of things. We have now numerous newspapers and periodicals conducted by our educated countrymen both in English and vernaculars, several clubs and associations freely ventilating our grievances and

making practical and valuable suggestions of reform. Of these associations the Indian National Congress is the most important and influential body.

The Congress is the necessary and logical outcome of that noble mission of the citizens of the United Kingdom in India of which they should be proud. Its objects are :—The promotion of personal intimacy amongst the more earnest workers in our country's cause in all parts of the Empire ; the eradication by direct friendly intercourse of all possible race, creed or national prejudice amongst all lovers of our country and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in Lord Ripon's ever-memorable reign. The principal aim of the Congress is to force upon the Government the imperative necessity and paramount duty of recognising and giving effect to the sound principles of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. The soul of that Magna Charta of our rights and privileges is the bestowal of the status of British citizenship on the people of British India, and the essential element of that status is the recognition of the representative principle in the administration of the country. The administrative mutilation of the manifest intentions of Parliament in framing the Indian Councils Act is much to be deplored ; while some interests are over-represented, other important interests are not represented at all. This defect has been greatly cured by the recent reform Scheme. After all, external prestige of nationality is not the most important consideration. Individual liberty, the wise administration of local affairs, the education of the responsible people, these are of far greater consequence. Once imbue nations with aspirations of progress and enlightenment, and they must go forward towards liberty. Difficulties and struggles are no doubt in our way. But confident are we that through all storm and cloud, the sun of constitutional liberty will yet shine with pure and beneficent effulgence upon India. The panacea for all the disorders of the Indian administration and the principal means of bringing about the regeneration

of India being representative institutions, what is the best way of qualifying the people for the enjoyment of such privilege ? It is only by practical training that they can prove their fitness. For men can never be free unless they are educated to freedom. And this is not the education to be found in schools or gained from books, but it is that which consists in self-discipline, self-reliance and self-government.

Lord Ripon justly urged on behalf of his scheme of Local self-government that it would be an instrument of political education. And it can be as truly said that if England desires to establish eventually an independent government in India, she can only do so by training the people to a sense of self-help and self-reliance through familiarity with the details of executive work. The transition state is the most critical stage of a nation's existence. If it leads to a steady progressive move, well and good ; but if reactionary movement is the result, many years, nay even centuries, may elapse before affairs take a favourable turn. As with individuals, so with nations, opportunities and concurrence of favourable circumstances, unless availed of as they present themselves, are oftentimes lost. In order that the tide in our affairs may lead on to fortune, we must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures. In England we have a noble band of friends and well-wishers of India whose number is daily on the increase. An Indian party in the House of Commons has pledged its moral support to Indian questions. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress are taking a vital interest in our welfare and are informing the British public, chiefly through their organ "India" about India and her people—their prospects and wants, requirements and grievances, the character of the Indian administration and other important matters, affecting the interests of India.

In India the repressive measures of Government adopted in recent years have caused a general awakening of the people to a sense of their unfair and arbitrary treatment by the powers that be. There is at present a general discontent

prevalent in India as a consequence of such un-English methods of administration. Such methods were no doubt intended to cow down the people and overawe them by a sense of the Almighty power of Pax Britannica. But they have evidently produced a contrary effect. The essence of Government does not consist in coercion, in the employment of force but that which above all things constitutes it, is a system of means and powers conceived with the design of arriving at the discovery of what is applicable to each occasion ; at the discovery of truth which has a right to rule society in order that afterwards the minds of men may be brought to open themselves to it and adopt it voluntarily and freely. The necessity for and the actual existence of a Government are thus perfectly conceivable when there is no occasion for coercion, when it is absolutely interdicted. Burke, the political philosopher and the valiant champion of popular rights, recognised as the object of Government, not the preservation of particular institutions nor the propagation of particular tenets, but the happiness of the people at large. For this end it is necessary that the rulers shall by no means presume to raise themselves into supreme judges of the national interests or deem themselves authorised to defeat the wishes of those for whose benefit alone they occupy the position entrusted to them. In two conditions, *viz.*, a good system of organising power and a good system of guarantees of liberty, consists the worth of Government in general, whether religious or civil : all Governments ought to be judged according to this criterion. Whether as the result of experience of the signal failure of the coercive policy in the Indian administration or of the pressure brought to bear upon him by several eminent members of the House of Commons, Lord Morley, the Ex-Secretary of State for India, had at last signified his intention of pursuing a conciliatory policy and promised to do all in his power to promote the best interests of India. His Reform Scheme has met with general favourable reception in India and is destined to inaugurate a bright era in the political his-

tory of that vast country. Such being the posture of affairs both here and in England, it behoves our countrymen to strike the iron while it is hot and strain every nerve to ameliorate their condition and regenerate their country.

HOW OUR YOUNG MEN SHOULD ENSURE SUCCESS IN LIFE, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC.

INDIA is the land of Rishis and Aryas. History informs us of their glorious achievements and imperishable acts. Whether in the province of philosophy, science, law, medicine or theology, she attained an eminence which has seldom been surpassed. She has noble traditions before her. She has vast natural resources requiring development and utilisation. She has abundance of fertile lands and navigable rivers for purposes of agriculture and commerce. She has excellent raw materials of every kind for purposes of either home manufacture or export trade.

The blessings of English rule have afforded us great facilities of travels and communications. The laws and administrative machinery of Government are a sufficient guarantee for the security of life and property. The establishment of numerous colleges and schools, both State and private, has placed education on every subject within easy reach of the public. The increased production of text-books on various subjects and a gradual improvement in experimental apparatus have rendered the subjects of study interesting and easily comprehensible. A free press in the country has proved a tower of strength enabling us to acquaint our rulers with our wants and requirements and ventilate our grievances. The boon of local self-government conferred upon us together with the benefits derived from the reform scheme, already given effect to, is calculated to be a stepping-stone to further political concessions, if our educated young men can satisfactorily prove their fitness for self-government. Will not these several motive forces produce their resultant effect? Are they not strong incentives to our young men for the pursuit of a career of activity and usefulness?

High education is no doubt desirable for persons who can afford to undergo the heavy expenses incidental to its acquisition. But instead of joining in an indiscriminate rush towards such education, persons of limited resources will find it to their advantage to acquire special training in certain subjects for which they have natural aptitude. India is a vast country and its resources are almost inexhaustible. Our young men should be trained in such scientific and industrial education as will enable them to develop such resources and compel the mother earth to give them their birth-right. They should not imagine for a moment that such callings, humble though they may be, are, by any means ignoble ; for the dignity of a profession or avocation does not consist in its high sounding name and popular repute where failure or indifferent success is the result in its pursuit, but in the fact of its being successfully and prosperously carried on. The importance of scientific education cannot be overestimated and our young men will do well to cultivate it. The following passage in Herbert Spencer's treatise on education sets forth the manifold value of knowledge of science :—

"Thus to the question we set out, what knowledge is of most worth, the uniform reply is science. This is the verdict on all the counts. For direct self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of greatest value is science. For the due discharge of the parental functions, the proper guidance is to be found only in science. For the interpretation of natural life past and present, without which the citizen cannot rightly regulate his conduct, the indispensable key is science. Alike for the most perfect production and present enjoyment of art in all its forms, the needful preparation is still science, and for purposes of discipline, intellectual, moral, religious, the most efficient study is once more science."

Grounded in the principles of science, the energies of our young men may be usefully exerted in various directions so as to improve the condition of India, physical, commercial,

political, social and religious. Our rural villages and tracts are in the most insanitary condition. Noxious vegetation, dirty puddles or tanks, irregular and bad arrangement of the bustees, have all combined to make them the hot-beds of cholera, malarious fever and other diseases. Let those trained in science set themselves to work in earnest to improve the physical condition of the country. Then our agriculture is in the most backward condition. The system of European farming should be gradually introduced so as to improve but not altogether supplant the indigenous art. The question of Indian famine is the most difficult of modern problems requiring solution. Let our local self-governing institutions and private bodies largely engage the services of our young men, for which their scientific knowledge will qualify them, in remedying the crying evil in these various respects.

Scientific knowledge will also enable our young men to participate largely in the benefits of commerce and break down the monopoly of foreigners. Learning to work machines they will be able to set them up on their own account for the manufacture of commercial commodities. Let them profit by the example of our Bombay brethren in this respect. Their success will be certain as the Swadeshi movement had created a growing demand for indigenous products. Let them eschew the violent methods of boycott which can be peaceably and normally secured if we can produce our home-made articles equal in price and quality to foreign imported goods and sufficient in quantity to meet the increasing demand.

Let our young men qualify themselves by the study of jurisprudence and the constitutions of civilised Governments for the noblest of all undertakings to redress the standing political grievance of India—taxation without adequate representation. This is the corner-stone of all reforms. We for ourselves do not call in question the good intentions of the Home Government—the British Sovereign and the British Parliament—towards their Indian dependency. The

good or bad government of India in consequence of the accidental circumstance of its liberal or arbitrary personnel for the time being does not affect the theory of good government intended for India. Such being the case, our young men have no reason to lose heart in their exertions for reform which should and can be brought about not by mere vociferous agitation or a violent attitude towards the Government but in a spirit of moderation and loyalty putting forward reasonable claims in the interests of the people at large and not in those of a particular creed or coterie. Students should not take active part in politics but learn the science first of all by study and by listening to political speeches. Let them not fritter away their energies in political controversies which should be left to their superiors in wisdom and experience, but devote themselves to the discharge of their duties as students. Let them be always deferential towards their parents, teachers and seniors in age as well as in experience. In social and religious matters, let our youngmen take note of the signs of the times, observe minutely the peculiar constitutions of our society and religion, compare them with those of other civilised nations, preserve in them what is good and adapted to the genius of the nation eschewing what is found to be extremely absurd on rational and philosophical points of view. Let not their youthful zeal produce disintegration of the national unit. Let them try to bring about the happy result, that in spite of the differences in their social and religious customs, the several races of India do unite for a common cause and stand on the common platform of brotherhood and friendship.

In order to enable our young men to duly discharge the duties incumbent on them they should secure their physical, intellectual and moral culture. The importance and usefulness of physical exercises is too well-known to require any detailed notice. Suffice it to say that there is observed an intimate connection between the body and mind ; the healthy functions of the latter generally depending upon the

sound state of the former. One whose stomach cannot digest food properly cannot be expected to possess a brain capable of digesting knowledge. One whose vitality is weak cannot easily undergo the tedious processes involved in complicated reasonings. Our young men have ample opportunities and facilities for receiving intellectual training as there are numerous educational institutions in the country. The principal aim of such training which should be steadily kept in view is originality. But it is to be highly regretted that our University system of education, instead of producing such a happy result tends to foster a spirit of cramming or mental subserviency.

The necessity of cultivating a habit of thinking is therefore urged upon our young men. What the digestive process is to our food, thinking is to our knowledge. As the one invigorates the body, the other endues the intellect with understanding and wisdom. Meditation or wisdom is the mental architect who builds out of materials derived from knowledge. Meditation has a large share in enlightening our mind and soul. It unlocks the treasures of psychological and moral truths. It is the best safeguard against immorality and vice. It leads to the formation of good character which is the principal object of education. It lays down more than anything else a broad line of demarcation between man and beast and keeps working that monitor within which discriminates between rectitude and wrong.

As to moral training much depends upon self-exertion. As no one can become a good athlete without subjecting himself to systematic physical exercises, so his morals cannot be expected to be improved without his leading a moral life. Study of the rules of gymnasium and morality is no doubt good in its way in furnishing our young men with knowledge of these subjects: but their morals can no more be improved by mere study of ethical text-books than a nation can be rendered virtuous by Acts of Parliament. A principal part of moral education is discipline which is the life and soul of an

institution. The mere apprehension of punishment in consequence of breach of discipline should not be the sole motive of the students to subject themselves to it. They ought to realise its manifold advantages. Their educational institution is a world in miniature. They are the subjects of a sort of little State and their Head Master or Principal is a Governor. They are taxed for promoting their improvement physical, intellectual and moral. They reap the benefits of diligence, perseverance, self-restraint &c., and suffer the consequences of idleness, inattention, wantonness &c. If they prove to be well-behaved and successful students, the chances are nine to ten that they will turn out fortunate gentlemen and law-abiding and useful subjects.

Our young men should form habits and principles of conduct which may stand them in good stead in their dealings with the world. Formation of fixed moral principles of conduct is the first link in the chain of secrets of success in life. Our actions are liable to be inconsistent, impulsive and whimsical unless regulated by such principles. Like a vessel without a rudder a man without principle is liable to be tossed about at every gust of passion and wrecked on the treacherous rocks of life. It is not easy for such a man to be the master of his own actions. Uncertainty as to how he will act under certain circumstances deprives him of public trust and confidence so essential in our dealings with the world. His motives are liable to be misconstrued. If he attains success by unscrupulous means, it can at least be temporary and at the sacrifice of self-satisfaction which cannot be derived unless our conduct be fair and above-board. Another requisite to worldly success is decision of character which results in the adoption of a fixed standard of action. Like the pendulum of a clock, a man of undecided character oscillates between conflicting and contrary volitions. He is at a stand-still and his thoughts seldom make any progress. He is at a loss how to act under emergencies which require prompt judgment and immediate action. Decision of character pro-

duces firmness and fixedness of purpose. Although it requires time and experience for such a character to develop itself, yet we expect it in our young men as we would have them come up to the *beau* ideal of human perfection and excellence in all things. 'Many things difficult to design prove easy to performance', is a salutary principle which they should try to act upon.

In the next place a proper selection of a sphere of action peculiarly suited to the capacity of our young men is the *sine qua non* of their success in life. Some persons are found to possess natural powers in understanding and mastering certain subjects. These and no other subjects should, principally if not exclusively, engage their attention and application. What but disappointment would be a certain result, if a person having no mathematical head were to choose engineering as his occupation or one having no gift of the gab or argumentative talent were to select the profession of law? The great disparity of worldly prosperity in persons of equal qualifications and attainments is mainly due to neglect or mistake in proper selection.

There should be thoroughness to render our knowledge solid and perfect and give it the last finish and touch. Concentration of attention and application to one subject at a time produces thoroughness. Instead of wasting their time and energies in a multiplicity of subjects, our young men would do well by confining themselves to certain limited ones. A jack-of-all-trades and master of none cannot have any but shallow and superficial acquaintance with diverse matters—a character most unfavourable to original conception and inventive talent. Quality and not quantity should be the standard of measurement by which the worth of our knowledge and actions is to be ascertained. Thorough knowledge of a single subject is preferable to imperfect and superficial acquaintance with diverse ones.

We reap the benefits of our knowledge by reducing it to practice. Our young men know very well that obedience to

their teachers and parents, keeping good company, attention to their studies, early rising are some of their principal duties ; but it will be of little use unless they are obedient pupils and children, agreeable companions, diligent students and early risers. Knowledge is not merely utilised but perfected by practice. Young men should never excuse themselves for their juvenile misconduct on the ground that they are young enough to indulge in transgressions without incurring the risk of corrupting their character. Their misdeeds will grow in strength with their years and become, so to speak, a part of their nature which it will be afterwards as difficult to divest themselves of, as a chronic disease brought on by habitual irregularity. The last, though not the least, requisite to worldly success, is the necessity of cultivating habits of self-help and self-reliance. God helps those who help themselves is a golden proverb. Honesty and diligence are the best legacies a parent should bequeath to his children. Treasures may be lost, estates ruined, but they are not subject to any loss or decay. Self-reliance raises us in the estimation of our fellow-creatures, preserves our self-respect and stimulates our exertions so as to enable us to be in a position to stand on our own legs.

EARLY HINDU MARRIAGE.

IN order to throw light upon the subject of enquiry, it will be necessary to obtain glimpses of the social life of the Hindus from the earliest to the present period—the Vedic, the Epic, the Buddhistic, the Pauranic and the Modern periods, Shastra or religious ordinance is meant to promote the true welfare of society. Judged by this high standard which was unquestionably the inspiring motive of the Hindu Sages to prescribe rules for the regulation of social practices and customs, it is evident that the validity of such rules depends upon their conformity with such standard. The value of Shastric sanction for any social practice will be enhanced if it can be shown that such sanction is not only reasonable and beneficial, but that the practice sanctioned has been prevalent from time immemorial. Such a procedure appears to be necessary to satisfy the scientific and enquiring spirit of the present age as well as to invest the treatment of the question under enquiry with the authority of history and traditional usage.

In the absence of any vernacular or Sanscrit history of the early times, except what can be known from the Sanskrit works on religion, literature and romance, we are constrained to refer to modern writers on Hindu social usages and practices. Mr. R. C. Dutt's History of Aryan Civilisation has thrown light upon such usages. The authenticity and true value of history, however, depend upon the extent to which it agrees with the actual state of things. If a writer does not confine himself to a faithful picture, but gives only a coloured version according to the light of his own opinion, it ought to be thoroughly examined before we accept it. Besides, to do justice to our venerable Rishis, we should always bear in mind that as their glorious achievements introduced into India an unparalleled civilisation, and as they have left to us

imperishable monuments of their genius and extraordinary powers, our business should be, not so much to adversely criticise as to clearly understand them. Haphazard and careless conclusions upon insufficient data serve no useful purpose. It will not do to say that the Aryan Hindus were beef-eaters, *Soma-rasha*-drinkers, and worshippers of the planets and the elements and thereupon jump to the conclusion that they were a superstitious and barbarous people. Again religion enters into the very minutest details of Hindu life. Eating and drinking, in what at first sight appears to be a bestial form of self-indulgence, being associated with religion, can seldom produce that degradation and demoralisation which follow when they are indulged in for the gratification of the passions. The history of Aryan Hindu civilisation forms a bright chapter in universal history. Ancient Hindu culture and progress have been pronounced by competent authorities to be unique in the history of the world. No other nation of ancient or modern times can exhibit so brilliant a record of thirty centuries of progress. It contains all the essential features of what is called the philosophy of history through successive stages—the religious, intellectual and political advancement of the Hindus, as well as the excellence of their social and domestic customs and institutions. It presents, in short, a faithful picture of their successes, failures, and struggles in forming and developing a national life. It is not correct to say, that the Rig Veda was the beginning of Hindu civilisation. "Even before the Aryan Stock," says Professor Max Muller, "was separated and dispersed to all the corners of the world, they had nearly all the ingredients of a civilised life."

Hinduism, according to Mr. C. B. Clarke, consists in the observance of the manners and customs of a particular place at a particular time, and necessarily varies from day to day, and from place to place, like the colours of a rainbow. This remark, if unchallenged, is likely to produce a misconception leading to erroneous conclusions. For upwards of 3,000 years

Hinduism has lasted, defying the ravages of time, the revolution of empires, the vicissitudes of Governments, the iconoclastic spirit of the Mohammedans and the Missionary zeal of the Christians. The true basis of Hinduism, as a religious alliance and a social league, is solid and strong and not liable to destruction by any changes in the mere outward form of its observance. The ancient Aryans used to worship Nature, the modern Hindus are image-worshippers ; there was no caste-distinction in ancient times ; it is now rigorously observed ; but such differences in the mode of worship, or in the social constitution, do not affect the fundamental principles of Hinduism as a great humanising force, a firm basis of religious culture and social unity.

The Consent Act has provided a partial remedy against the injurious consequences of early marriage. No doubt, it was a matter of regret that the Legislature had to step in, in order to stop the tide of a growing evil, and that our society did not see its way to reform its abuses so as to obviate the necessity of such interference which has cast a great reflection upon its internal constitution. In this case also the religious plea is put forward as an excuse for culpable negligence. The absurdity of such a plea becomes apparent when we call to mind Raghunandan's clear opinion contained in the following passage of his *Jyotistwatta*. "If a man of twenty years of age approaches a woman of the full age of sixteen years when she has been purified after a certain event, in the expectation of offspring, good offspring is born ; below those ages the offspring is bad—thus says the *Smriti*." This explains what reasonable construction is to be put upon what he has laid down in this respect in his *Sanskara Tattva*. Further it rests upon the authority both of *Susruta* and European Medical Science that children born of immature parents do not attain to a high standard of excellence. "If a man not having attained twenty-five years of age, impregnates a woman below sixteen, he endangers the child in the womb. If it is born, it does not live long ; if it lives, it

becomes weak of organs of sensation and action. Therefore, let there not be impregnation of very young girls."—Susruta.

It would appear from this that both Hindu medical science and Hindu religious authority unite in fixing sixteen years as the proper age for a woman to enter upon the duties of maternity ; and in this they are supported by the medical science of Europe. If the State is unable to fix the minimum marriageable age, it cannot be denied that the indirect and educative influence of the Consent Act will co-operate with the forces in our society in slowly pushing forward the present age of marriage. In respectable families girls were seldom given in marriage before they attained the age of twelve years before the passing of the Act, which has now furnished an additional motive, if not to enlarge, at best to adhere to, that period of a girl's life as the minimum marriageable age. It is hoped that the paramount considerations of good health and proper physical development will weigh with all classes of society in India to maintain a yet higher limit of marriageable age. It is a historical fact that from the Vedic to the modern period, Hindu girls were disposed of in marriage at an advanced age. It was only in the Buddhistic age that child-marriage was introduced on account of the frequent invasions of foreigners and the insecurity of the times. Now, as perfect security of life and property prevails in India under the British Indian administration, it is highly desirable that this obnoxious practice should be discontinued and abandoned. Besides the express authority contained in Smriti, referred to above, for the marriage of Hindu females after puberty, the peculiar character of the Hindu marriage, its indissolubility, and the serious duties cast upon the married couple, all tend to lead to a reasonable inference that the Shastras contemplate that the marriage should only be contracted when the parties to it have attained an age of discretion sufficient to enable them to realise its nature and duties. With the exception of the cases provided for by Legislative

Enactments and Case-Law, the Hindu marriage creates an indissoluble bond, which is a sound basis of abiding interest, strong affection, and religious culture of the married parties. The Hindu wife is called *সহধৰ্মণী* (Sahadharmini) i.e., a partner with her husband in religious observances. The wife is sought for the procreation of a son, and a son is necessary for offering funeral cakes. *পুনাম নৱকাহ আয়তে ইতি পূজ্ঞঃ*—The son delivers the parents from a hell called *put*. From this it is evident that marriage, according to the Hindu Shastras, is regarded as a sacred institution, conferring an equality of status on the wife with the husband, considering her necessary for the attainment of the noblest objects of life, and enjoining upon the son a holy mission of attending to the spiritual welfare of his parents and perpetuating and honouring their names. A tie which is considered so sacred and strengthened by so many cords of domestic felicity, religious sanctity and agreeable prospects, is seldom allowed to be sundered by caprices and whims, temporary inconveniences or untoward circumstances difficult to avoid even in the most respectable families.

Above all, it is imperatively necessary that whatever is catholic and rational should demand our best consideration ; whatever is illiberal and irrational ought to be rejected. There should be no misconception of the true nature of Hindu religion and social customs. Of such customs, some are universal or invariable such as, Marriage, Upanayana, Sradh, &c. and others are local or variable, such as Garbadhana, Pumsavana, &c. The former are intimately connected with Hindu religion. They form, so to speak, the backbone of the Hindu social and individual life. A Hindu, ceasing to observe them, ceases to be a Hindu. But the latter class of rites and practices is of a local or rather festive character : and their observance is merely optional. It behoves us, therefore, that in our investigation for Shastric injunctions we should exercise proper discrimination and caution so as not to mistake the shadow for the substance, the chaff for

the kernel, the base for the genuine metal. The best touch-stone for examining the soundness and validity of a custom is its moral and material efficacy. And as marriage after puberty satisfies such a condition, shastric sanction for it, which cannot be meant for anything which is improper and injurious, must be presumed even if it cannot be established by positive and direct evidence. Any such sanction for child-marriage, which medical opinion, both Indian and European, has clearly pronounced to be dangerous to life, even if it is found, must be considered to be obsolete, unscientific and obnoxious and its non-observance is not only consistent with the spirit of true religion but absolutely necessary in the best interests of humanity which such religion can never ignore or disregard.

SHASTRIC SANCTION.

I have already referred to the Smriti quoted by Raghu-nandan in his Jyatishtwatta which has prescribed 16 years as the minimum marriageable age of a Hindu girl. In addition, I quote a couplet of verses from Manu Sanghita, Chapter IX, v. 89, which sanctions the marriage of a Hindu girl after puberty.. The couplet runs thus :—

কামমামরণাভিষ্ঠেদ গৃহে কস্তুর মত্যপি ।

নচৈবেনাং প্রযচ্ছেত্ব শুগীনাম কহিচিঃ ॥

It is desirable that a daughter even if she has attained her puberty should up to her death remain unmarried at home, but should never be given in marriage to a person without merit. Again another authority may be cited in support of the disputed point :—

প্রাগ্রজো দৰ্শনাং পঞ্জীং নেয়াৎ গৰ্বা পত্যাধঃ ।

ব্যর্থো কারেণ শুক্রশ ব্রহ্মত্যাম্ অবাপ্তু স্বাং ॥

A man shall not approach the wife before the appearance of catamenia ; approaching, becomes degraded, and incurs the sin of slaying a Brahmana, by reason of wasting the virile seed.

Asvalayana cited in the Nirnayasindhu (Golap Shastri's Hindu Law p. 80.)

Now it may be contended that this text prohibits the consummation, and not the ceremony of, marriage before puberty of the girl. But if the consummation is postponed till after the attainment of puberty, the mere ceremony is immaterial and of no moment. Besides when a heavy penalty is attached to approaching a wife before the appearance of catamenia, the object of the ordinance is evidently to discourage and discountenance her marriage before the occurrence of that event. Also it is quite reasonable and safe that a girl should not be given in marriage until she is fit to enjoy the company of her husband.

In Manu Sanghita again there is another text which reads thus :—

त्रिंश्चर्ष्यै नहेऽ कथाः हस्तां द्वादशवार्षिकीः ।

त्राष्ट्रवर्ष्योष्टवर्षाः वा धर्मे सौन्दिति सप्तरः ॥

Let a man of thirty years marry an agreeable girl of twelve years, and a man of thrice eight years a girl of eight years ; one marrying earlier deviates from duty. Manu, IX, 94.

In the same chapter on page 89, as has been already shown, Manu has provided that a girl even after her puberty should remain unmarried rather than be given in marriage to an unsuitable person. From this it appears that there is no hard and fast rule as to the age of marriage of a Hindu girl, but that great care should be taken that she is given in marriage to a suitable person. As there is a very great disproportion of age between a husband aged 24 and a wife aged 8, such a match cannot be called a suitable one. As the Shastras cast a duty upon a Brahman to espouse only when he has finished his studentship (Yajnavalkya I, 52, 53) it necessarily follows that a girl of tender years will be quite unsuitable for him to marry. This circumstance coupled with the interdiction in the Shastras against the marriage of a girl

below eight years of age (Manu, IX, 94) and consummation of marriage before she has attained her puberty, leads to the conclusion which is at once logical and reasonable, that the Hindu Shastras contemplate the marriage of a Brahman girl after, and not before, puberty. I have now, I think, established that the authority for the marriage of Hindu girls after puberty rests upon (*a*) the Immemorial Customs, (*b*) the Smriti, (*c*) Manu Sanghita, and (*d*) the Nirnoysindhу. It can be historically traced that the custom of the marriage of Hindu girls at an advanced age or after puberty has been prevalent in India from the Vedic up to the present period of Hinduism. I now proceed to show that immemorial custom is regarded as one of the sources of Hindu Dharma or Law. The word *dharma* is generally rendered into Law and includes all kinds of rules—religious, moral, legal, physical, metaphysical or scientific, in the same way as the term Law does, in its widest sense. The word is derived from the root *dhri* to hold, support or maintain, and it means law, or duty or the essential quality of persons or things. By the term *dharma* is understood the rules whereby not only mankind but all beings are governed ; it also imports duty or distinctive feature of beings implying subjection to, or control by, the rules. The term *Shashtra* is derived from the root *shas* to teach, enjoin or control, and means teacher. The term source of law is used in two senses : in one, the Deity, according to the Hindus, and the Sovereign, according to modern jurisprudence, is the fountain source of law ; and in the other sense, the term means that to which you must resort to get at law, in other words, the evidence or records of law, which we are to study for the purpose of learning law. In this sense the sources of Hindu law are the Sruti, the Smriti and the immemorial and approved customs by which the divine will or law is evidenced. Golap Shastri on Hindu Law Part I p. 11.

The Sruti is believed to contain the very words of the deity. The name is derived from the root *Sru* to hear, and

signifies what was heard or the Revealed Law. The Sruti contains very little of lawyer's law: it consists of hymns and deal with religious rites, true knowledge and liberation. It comprises the four Vedas, the six Vedangas and the Upanishads. The Smriti means what was remembered, and is believed to contain the precepts of God, but not in the language they had been delivered. The language is of human origin, but the rules are divine. The authors do not arrogate to themselves the position of legislators, but profess to compile the traditions handed down to them by those to whom the divine commands had been communicated. The Smritis are the principal sources of lawyer's law, but they also contain matters other than positive law. The complete Codes of Manu and Yajnavalkya deal with religious rites, positive law, penance, true knowledge and liberation. Manu has drawn a broad distinction between Sruti and Smriti thus :—

ଅତିକ୍ଷେପ ବେଦୋ ବିଜ୍ଞୋ ଧର୍ମଶାସ୍ତ୍ରଙ୍କୁ ଦୈ ସ୍ମରିତଃ ।

By Sruti is known the Veda and by Smriti the Dharma-Shastra. Golap Shastri says that of the three sources of law, the Sruti, though of the highest authority, is of little practical importance; the immemorial customs are of very great importance, as being the rules by which the people are actually guided in practice, and their value has come to be specially recognised by the British Courts of Justice in India. The time-honoured customs override the Smritis and their accepted interpretation given by an authoritative commentator, should this be inconsistent with the customs. They prove that the written texts of law are either speculative and never followed in practice, or obsolete. The Hindu commentators have not, except in a few instances, devoted much attention to these unrecorded customs and usages, though they recognise their authority as a source of law. They have confined their attention to the Smritis alone, which constitute the primary written sources of law. Again the doctrine of *factum valet* which means that fact cannot

be altered by a hundred texts, has made custom of superior validity to Shastric texts. But such a custom must be reasonable and of time immemorial. Manu and Yayhavalkya declare (সন্মাচার) approved custom or usage to be evidence of law. Divine will is evidenced by such customs indicating rules of conduct, in other words, such customs are presumed to be based on unrecorded revelation. We believe it has now been made abundantly clear that the custom of marriage of Hindu girls after puberty falls under the category of approved customs.

CIVILISATION, EASTERN AND WESTERN.

ACCORDING to Guizot, civilisation is the perfecting of civil life, the development of society properly so called, of the relations of men among themselves. Civilisation is the result of two facts : the development of social activity and that of individual activity, the progress of society and the progress of humanity.

In the opinion of Buckle, four leading propositions are to be deemed the basis of the history of civilisation ; 1st, the progress of mankind depends on the success with which the laws of phenomena are investigated, and on the extent to which a knowledge of those laws is diffused ; 2nd, that before such investigations can begin, a spirit of scepticism must arise, which, at first aiding the investigation, is afterwards aided by it ; 3rd, that the discoveries thus made increase the influence of intellectual truths and diminish relatively, not absolutely, the influence of moral truths, moral truths being more stationary than intellectual truths and receiving fewer additions ; 4th, that the great enemy of this movement is the protective spirit, by which is meant the notion that society cannot prosper unless the affairs of life are watched over and protected at nearly every turn by the State and the Church, the State teaching men what they are to do and the Church teaching them what they are to believe.

The civilisation of a country is affected, among other causes, by its physical agents, which may be classed under four heads, namely, Climate, Food, Soil and the General Aspects of Nature—by which last are meant those appearances which, though presented chiefly to the sight, have through the medium of that or other senses, directed the association of ideas and hence, in different countries, have given rise to different habits of national thought.

Leaving the consideration of the influence of the first three

physical agents—climate, food and soil—to medical men and other experts, we confine our observations to the last of such agents *viz.*, the general aspects of nature. With regard to these, in the opinion of Buckle, two fundamental propositions are said to be established : 1st, that there are certain natural phenomena which act on the human mind by exciting the imagination ; and 2ndly, that those phenomena are much more numerous out of Europe than in it. We are all told that the people of those countries in which Nature presents herself in her wild and marvellous, terror-striking and awful aspect, generally become imaginative, credulous and superstitious ; whereas the people whose country abounds only, with simple natural scenery are generally cool and calculating, given to reasoning and doubting. There are wonders of nature in the former and wonders of art in the latter. Hence it is stated that fetishism is the characteristic of the one, hero-worship that of the other ; that the Hindu gods represent the attributes of nature, while the Greek gods represent human attributes, and that the Greeks dealt more with the known and available, the Hindus with the unknown and mysterious, the former having respect for human, the latter for superhuman powers. Hence the inference has been drawn that the two principal sources of superstition are ignorance and danger, ignorance keeping men unacquainted with natural causes, and danger making them recur to supernatural ones ; or to express the same proposition in other words, the feeling of veneration which, under one of its aspects, takes the form of superstition is a product of wonder and of fear, and it is obvious that wonder is connected with ignorance and fear with danger. Hence it is that whatever in any country increases the total amount of peril, has a direct tendency to increase the total amount of superstition, and therefore to strengthen the hand of the priesthood. We do not see our way to fully endorse the foregoing views. Wonder is the beginning of all knowledge, As observed by Plato, it is a truly philosophic passion ; the more we have of it, blended

with reverence and with a clear open eye, the better. It fixes and concentrates our attention with great energy. Our thoughts generally wander ; intruding thoughts generally call off the mind ; but once let wonder be awakened with the curiosity which follows it, and the intellectual powers are quickened. In its higher stage, it gives place to admiration, which is directed to what is present to the mind, and is its homage to the contemplated object.

" He who wonders not," says Professor Blackie, " largely and habitually in the midst of this magnificent universe, does not prove that the world has nothing great in it worthy of wonder, but only that his own sympathies are narrow and his capacities small. It is by admirations only of what is beautiful and sublime that we can mount up a few steps towards the likeness of what we admire. To look with admiring rapture on a type of perfect excellence is the way to become assimilated to that excellence." The sciences of the heavenly bodies and of the earth's crust, of the nature and properties of substances and their combination, of the laws of heat, light, electricity and magnetism, the sciences dealing with molar and molecular forces and those relating to the vegetable, the mineral and the animal kingdoms—all these sciences giving us an insight into the wonders of the creation, call forth our warmest admiration, prove that our knowledge of the wondrously fair and glorious works of the Creator is very limited, that like children we are still gathering pebbles on the sea-shore, that we are small creatures, even the biggest of us, that we have very great reasons to be of a humble and reverential spirit, and that the admiration of science is a safe basis for the foundation of virtue and piety. The theological spirit is in a manner the blood which ran in the veins of the European world down to Bacon and Descartes. For the first time Bacon in England and Descartes in France carried intelligence beyond the path of theology. The history of European civilization may be summed up into three grand periods : 1st, a period which may

be called the period of origins, of formation—a time when the various elements of European society freed themselves from the chaos, took being and showed themselves under their native forms with the principles which animated them. This period extended nearly to the 12th century. 2nd, a period of essay, of trial, of grouping the various elements of the social order which drew near each other, and as it were, left each other with the power to bring forth anything general, regular and durable. This state was not ended, properly speaking, till the 16th century. 3rd, a period of development properly so-called, when society in Europe took a definite form, followed a determined tendency, and progressed rapidly and universally towards a clear and precise end. This commenced at the 16th century and now pursues its course.

The advance of thought in Europe has produced good results in the three important branches of human knowledge *viz.*, Theology, Politics and Literature. The rites and forms of a religion lie on the surface ; they are at once seen and are quickly learned and easily copied by those who are unable to penetrate into that which lies beneath. It is the deeper and inward change which alone is durable and this the savage can never experience while he is sunk in an ignorance that levels him with the brutes by which he is surrounded. Remove the ignorance and then the religion enters. How idle, then, it is to ascribe the civilisation to the creed, and how worse than foolish are the attempts of Government to protect a religion which, if suited to the people, will need no protection or support, and if unsuited to them, will work no good.

As to the political welfare of a country, one main condition is that its rulers shall by no means presume to raise themselves into supreme judges of the national interests or deem themselves authorised to defeat the wishes of those for whose benefit alone they occupy the position entrusted to them. Burke, the political philosopher and champion of popular rights, recognised as the object of Government not

the preservation of particular institutions, nor the propagation of particular tenets, but the happiness of the people at large. In two conditions, *viz.*, a good system of organising power and a good system of guarantees of liberty, consists the worth of Governments in general, whether religious or civil ; all Governments ought to be judged according to this criterion.

It behoves, therefore, every people to take heed that the interests of literary men are on their side rather than on the side of Government. For literature is the representative of intellect, which is progressive, while Government is the representative of order, which is stationary. As long as these two great powers are separate, they will correct and act and react upon each other and the people may hold the balance. If, however, these powers coalesce, if the Government can corrupt the intellect and if the intellect will yield to the Government, the inevitable result must be despotism in politics and servility in literature. From this synopsis, containing an account of the genius and idiosyncracy of European civilisation, it appears that the outcome of such civilisation has been intellectual, social and material progress rather than moral, individual and spiritual progress. Its prevailing spirit is freedom—freedom in politics, literature and religion. Its general tendency has been to attain equality of political status, freedom of thinking, and liberty of conscience. The principal aim of the ancient Hindu civilisation had been at spiritual perfection. Simplicity in material life and richness in intellectual and spiritual life were its principal characteristics. We confine our account to this civilisation as it was the best type of Eastern or Asiatic civilisation and is being rapidly revived under the various liberalising and humanising forces at work in the present age.

From the Vedas to Manu and from Manu to the Puranas, Sir William Jones conceives the change to be exactly in the same proportion as from the fragments of Numa to the Twelve Tables and from those to the works of Cicero. The

theological, philosophical, literary and scientific works of the ancient Hindus were all written in Sanskrit, which has been characterised by the same authority to be of a wonderful structure ; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either.

The primary doctrine of the Vedas is the unity of God. The three principal manifestations of the Diety (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva) with other personified attributes are indeed mentioned, but the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system.

Manu's Code seems rather to be the work of a learned man designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindu institutions. On this supposition it would show the state of society as correctly as a legal code, since it is evident that it incorporates the existing laws, and any alterations it may have introduced with a view to bring them up to its preconceived standard of perfection, must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written. The moral duties are in one place distinctly declared to be superior to the ceremonial ones, but in the opinion of Elphinstone, the historian, the general tendency of Brahmin morality is rather towards innocence than active virtue and its main objects are to enjoy tranquility and to prevent pain or evil to any sentient being.

According to the same authoriiy, the internal institutions of the ancient Hindus were less rude than those of the Greeks, as painted by Homer, who was nearly contemporary with Manu ; their conduct to their enemies was more humane, their general learning was much more considerable, and in the knowledge of the being and nature of God they were already in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens. Yet the Greeks were polished by free communication with many nations and have recorded the improvements which they early derived from each ; while the Hindu civilisation grew up alone, and thus aquired an original and

peculiar character that continues to spread an interest over the higher stages of refinement to which its unaided efforts afterwards enabled it to attain.

The union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.

The Hindu religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of Nature to theism, and then declined in scepticism with the learned and man-worship with the vulgar.

The two principal schools of Hindu Philosophy, comprehending the six Darshans, are the Sankhya and Vedanta. The first maintains the eternity of matter and its principal branch denies the being God. The other school derives all things from God and one sect denies the reality of matter. All the Indian systems, atheistical as well as theistical, agree in their object, which is to teach the means of obtaining beatitude, or in other words, metempsychosis or deliverance from all corporeal encumbrances. The state of society in ancient India was not so bad as has been described by some English writers. The condition of the Sudras was much better than that of the public slaves under some ancient republics, and indeed than that of the villeins of the Middle Ages or any other servile class with which we are acquainted. Elphinstone has instituted the following comparison between the middle classes of India and England :—"On the whole, if we except those connected with the Government, they (the Indian townspeople) will bear a fair comparison with the people of towns in England. Their advantages in religion and government give them a clear superiority to our middle class, and even among the labouring class there are many to whom no parallel could be found in any rank or order ; but on the other hand, there is no set of people among

the Hindus so depraved as the dregs of our great towns and the swarms of persons who live by fraud—sharpers, impostors, and adventurers of all descriptions, from those who mix with the higher order down to those who prey on the common people—are almost unknown in India."

Civilisation, to be perfect, must combine the advantages of the East and the West, that is to say, spiritual perfection and material progress. Buckle, as we have shown, has given predominance of intellectual over moral truths in the growth and development of civilisation. Such, however, is not the opinion of Emerson, the great American thinker and philosopher. According to him, the evolution of a highly destined society must be moral ; it must run in the grooves of the celestial wheels. It must be catholic in aims. What is moral ? It is the respecting in action catholic or universal ends. Kant defines moral conduct thus : "Act always so that the immediate motive of thy will may become a universal rule for all intelligent beings." The following passage quoted from Emerson on 'Civilization' will, we believe, throw a flood of light on the subject :—

"In strictness the vital refinements are the moral and intellectual steps. The appearance of the Hebrew Moses, of the Indian Buddha, in Greece of the seven Wise Masters, of the acute and upright Socrates and of the Stoic Zeno, in Judea the advent of Jesus, and in modern Christendom of the realists Huss, Savonarola and Luther, are causal facts which carry forward races to new convictions and elevate the rule of life. In the presence of these agencies, it is frivolous to insist on the invention of printing or gunpowder, of steam power or gaslight, percussion-caps, and rubber-shoes, which are toys, thrown off from that security, freedom and exhilaration which a healthy morality creates in society. These arts add a comfort and smoothness to house and street-life ; but a purer morality which kindles genius, civilises civilization, casts backward all that we hold sacred into the profane, as the flame of oil throws a shadow when shined upon by the flame of the

Budelight. Not the less the popular measures of progress will ever be the arts and the laws."

Morality and all the incidents of morality are essential as justice and personal liberty to the citizen. "Countries," says Montesquieu, "are well cultivated not as they are fertile, but as they are free." And the remark holds not less but more true of the culture of men than of the tillage of land. The highest proof of civilisation is that the whole public action of the State is directed on securing the greatest good of the greatest number.

THE REFORM OF THE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY OF CALCUTTA.

THE points required to be dealt with are :—(1) Duties and Qualifications of Commissioners ; (2) Claims and Influence of the Rate-payers on the Commissioners ; (3) Methods of Election and Nomination of Commissioners with due regard to the fair representation of the various interests ; (4) Powers and Constitution of the Deliberative and Executive Councils ; (5) Is a separate President of the Councils necessary ? (6) Limits and Procedure of Debates in Councils ; (7) Powers and Responsibilities of the Chairman as the Executive head of the Staff ; (8) Causes of the alleged corruption and their remedy ; (9) General Principles of Local Self-Government as applied to Calcutta.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

Municipal administration has been placed upon a broad and liberal basis by the Reform Scheme contained in the Despatch of Lord Morley to the Government of India. The guiding principle of the scheme relating to Local Self-Government has been the policy inaugurated by Lord Ripon in 1882. "It is not primarily," the Government of that liberal-minded Viceroy say, "with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education. There appears to be great force in the argument that so long as the chief Executive Officers are, as a matter of course, Chairmen of the Municipal and District Committees, there is little chance of these Committees affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs, or of the non-official members taking any real interest in local business. The non-official members must be

led to feel that real power is placed in their hands, and that they have real responsibilities to discharge." Experience has shown that if Lord Ripon's scheme had been faithfully and generously carried out, more satisfactory results would have taken place. Funds have not existed for an efficient Executive Staff. The official element within the local bodies has been in many places predominant. Non-official members have not been induced, to such an extent as was hoped, to take real interest in local business, because their powers and their responsibilities were not real. If Local Self-Government has so far been no marked success as a training ground, it is mainly for the reason that the constitution of the local bodies departed from what was affirmed in the Resolution to be the true principle, that control could be exercised from without rather than from within, the Government should revise and check the acts of local bodies, but not dictate them. It would be hopeless to expect any real development of Self-Government, if the local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of detail and the respective powers of Government and of the various local bodies should be clearly and distinctly defined by statute so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible. Within the limits to be laid down in each case, however, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies.

As improved Local Self-Government forms a part of the proposals for constitutional reform, the whole scheme should be examined and discussed so as to see how far the former will lead naturally and normally to Self-Government in the Empire which is the goal of the people's aspirations. As a forward step in the direction of the political advancement of the Indian people, the Reform Scheme may be welcomed as a generous concession. It has some good points as well as some defects, but considering the trying times and the circumstances and conditions attending its presentation, the people have every reason to be thankful for the former and

not to grumble for the latter. The good points are : (1) an improved system of representing the various interests of the different classes of the community on the Provincial Councils ; (2) the provision for majority of non-official members in such Councils ; (3) the appointment of an Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council ; (4) the establishment of Executive Councils for the major provinces, each containing an Indian member ; (5) the enlargement of the right of interpellations and of moving amendments, giving more scope for the discussion of grievances ; (6) the discussion of the Provincial Budget by a Committee, containing equal numbers of officials and non-officials ; (7) emancipation of the Local Self-Governing Institutions from strict official control and interference. The defects pointed out by Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter, late of the Calcutta High Court, who has formed a most independent, just and correct estimate of the scheme are (1) that it will not represent the middle classes sufficiently, especially in the towns, unless the towns are separately represented in the Electoral Colleges as they are called—the middle classes are generally to be found in the towns ; (2) the control over the Budget will not be of much use unless the funds placed at the disposal of the Local Governments are considerably increased by the Imperial Government, control over the Imperial Funds would be an improvement ; (3) there should be also a retracing of a good many measures of supposed improvement as, for instance, in the matter of education in the appointment of men to the services, the giving of greater encouragement to Indian industries and to agriculture, and a better administration of justice both in Civil and Criminal cases, as also a speedy separation of the Judicial and Executive functions.

From all accounts there seems to be a consensus of opinion that a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor should be placed in charge of the reunited Bengal with an Executive Council, one member of which is to be an Indian. Another point of general interest is that Lord Morley should have accepted Lord

Minto's recommendation of maintaining an equal proportion of official and non-official members in the Imperial Legislative Council, reserving the casting vote to the Governor-General of India in Council. This would have rendered the composition of the Council evenly balanced, preventing the chance of "wild cat Bills" being passed on the one hand and reducing the chance of official domination to a minimum on the other. A hopeful augury, however, for the future of India is shadowed forth in the peroration of Lord Morley's speech in the House of Lords announcing the reform proposals. "We will associate the people of India," said His Lordship, "with the Government in the work of actual administration to-day. All will be well if we do not lose our moral strength in guidance and control of those countless multitudes. Who are the people of India? I like to recall the language used by Mr. Bright in 1858. 'We do not know how to leave it and therefore let us see if we know how to govern it' Let us abandon all that system of calumny against the natives of India which has latterly prevailed. Had that people not been docile and the most governable race in the world, how could you have maintained your power for one hundred years. Are they not industrious, are they not intelligent, are they not, upon the evidence of the most distinguished men the Indian service has ever produced, endowed with many qualities which make them respected by all Englishmen who mix with them?"

It appears from the above extract that Lord Morley was not influenced by recent unfortunate happenings in India, notably in Bengal, in framing the Reform Scheme. Moreover, His Lordship said that he approached the question from principles recognised in 1861 and Doctrines enunciated by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Ripon. The latter noble-minded Viceroy claimed as the chief merit of his scheme of Local Self-Government that it would be a potent factor of political education of the people. Although there is sufficient available good Indian material for establishing Self-Government under British paramountcy without any risk to the

Government but with great benefit to the people, still it will be too much to expect it to take such a big jump just at present. But it must be noticed that although working under rigorous official control and with limited funds, Local Self-Government in India has on the whole been admittedly a great success. It has undergone rather a long period of probation sufficient to raise it to the status of Self-Government. The new scheme may be characterised as a higher grade of apprenticeship for such Government. A system of training for Self-Government is evidently intended for the ultimate enjoyment of its privilege. That being so, how could Lord Morley say that a Parliamentary system in India, which is another name for Self-Government in the Empire, was a goal to which he did not aspire? Did he not say some time ago that for as long a time to which his imagination could carry him, India would remain under a strong personal Government? As this epithet can hardly be applied to the Government now proposed to be constituted under the Reform Scheme, the Secretary of State for India may yet change his programme of future Government of India by introducing a Parliamentary system here which at present he does not think desirable.

II.

(1) Duties and Qualifications of Commissioners.

Section 38 of the Calcutta Municipal Act (Bengal Act III 1899) provides for the qualifications of Municipal Commissioners. A person shall not be qualified to be elected Commissioner unless he is enrolled in the Municipal election roll as a voter of some ward :

Provided that if any Company, Body Corporate, Firm, Hindu Joint Family or other Association of individuals is enrolled in the same roll as a voter of a ward, any one person duly authorised by power-of-attorney to represent such Association shall be deemed to be qualified to be elected a Commissioner. Females, persons convicted of any non-

bailable offences, uncertificated bankrupts or undischarged insolvents, Municipal office-bearers and servants, a Municipal Magistrate or a Small Cause Court Judge, and subject to certain exceptions, persons interested in any contract or other business of the Corporation, are disqualified from being elected or appointed as Commissioners, subject to the decision of the Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes of Calcutta. Any Commissioner who becomes disqualified from serving as such or who absents himself without any reasonable cause during six successive meetings of the Corporation shall cease to be a Commissioner.

The duties of the Commissioners have not been defined or generally enumerated in the Act, but they can be collected from the specific directions given to promote the health; convenience, safety, etc., of the rate-payers and residents of the city. They are to prepare a Budget Estimate of Income and Expenditure for each year, to borrow money, if necessary, for construction of Permanent Works or for payment of debts, to impose Rates and Taxes, to maintain a system of Water-supply, to construct Drains, Privies and other receptacles for filth, to maintain, repair and protect Streets and Public Places, to regulate the construction of Buildings and Bustees with due regard to Sanitation, Ventilation, Locality, etc., to acquire Land and Buildings for improvements, to regulate Factories, Trades, etc., Markets, Bazars and Slaughter-houses, Public Bathing and washing, sale of articles of Food and Drink generally, and of Drugs, Weights and Measures, registration of Births and Deaths, disposal of the Dead, the taking of periodical Census, to frame Bye-Laws. These are some of the duties imposed upon the Commissioners to work out the Act. But their most important duty is to bring their intelligence, attention and honesty to bear upon the discharge of their responsibilities with a view to give the Rate-payers, as far as practicable, a *quid pro quo* for what is taken from them and protection from iniquitous demands, troubles and harassment at the hand

of Municipal underlings. As the Reform Scheme contained in Lord Morley's Despatch provides for non-official majorities in the Provincial Legislative Councils and an improved system of election of Members representing the various interests of the country, Municipal Commissioners will have a very great inducement to discharge their duties carefully and cautiously and to take great interest in Municipal affairs. As remarked in that memorable document, popular election would provide a healthy stimulus to interest in Local Self-Government by linking up local bodies (Rural and Municipal Boards) more closely with the Provincial Legislative Councils. To this end it might be provided that the candidate for election to the Provincial Council must himself have taken part in Local Administration. "I make no doubt," said Lord Morley, "that the Government of India to-day will affirm and actively shape their policy upon the principle authoritatively set forth by their predecessors in 1882. It would be hopeless to expect any real development of Self-Government if the local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of detail and the respective powers of Government and of the various local bodies should be clearly and distinctly laid down by statute, so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible. Within the limits to be laid down in each case, however, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies."

III.

(2) *Claims and Influence of the Rate-payers on the Commissioners.*

The Commissioners are expected to do their duties to their constituents without fear or favour. They must try to promote their true and not fancied interests. Some Commissioners may have the weakness to pander to the initiated tastes and wanton caprices of their electors with

a view to be elected" at the next poll. They may be actuated by motives of self-interest to fan the flame of party spirit and throw arbitrary obstacles in the way of peaceful administration of civic justice and due recognition of civic claims and rights. But educated gentlemen and men of light and leading who will certainly constitute the major portion of the representatives of urban areas, notably the second city in the British Empire, will be assuredly above such foibles. The Rate-prayers have just claims upon their services, (1) to have the existing Act amended so as to bring it into conformity and harmony with the liberal and generous spirit of Lord Morley's Reform Scheme, (2) to get *inter alia* a provision for an elected Chairman for a term of years, (3) to secure a tangible majority of non-official members on the Municipal Board limiting the number of official and nominated members representing minorities and backward communities to one-third of the whole body of Commissioners, (4) to have a free hand in framing the Budget Estimate unfettered by official control or interference which should be confined to revision or check and not dictation, (5) to have the Calcutta Improvement Scheme under the consideration and decision of the Corporation subject only to the submission of a final report to Government and generally to see that the Act, officialised as it is, be worked till its amendment for the advantages of the Rate-prayers in two important directions, *viz.*, the lighting of the existing heavy Municipal burdens and redressing of everyday petty grievances which are legion, is effected. The Commissioners should regularly and periodically go round their respective wards, enquire into the grievances and complaints, if any, of the Rate-payers and use their legitimate power to redress them. It will not do, if they simply attend meetings, vote for or against certain propositions and then go to sleep till the next meeting takes place. What is urgently wanted and what affects the Rate-payers materially is that the resolutions passed at the Municipal meetings be carried out faithfully and promptly,

that the matters elicited on interpellations are attended to and not ingeniously avoided. It is necessary that such interpellations should receive improvements like those proposed for interpellations at Provincial Legislative Meetings. At the same time it is highly desirable that the rate-payers instead of relying entirely upon the exertions of their representatives should put forth their best efforts to create a healthy public opinion to bear upon the Corporation through the medium of properly constituted Rate-payers' Associations and the local journals. Temperately-worded concrete cases of Municipal vagaries and oppression will go a great way towards the redress of proved actual grievances. It is a notorious fact that the Collecting Department levied fines in several cases for alleged excess consumption of filtered water allowed to occupiers of holdings. In some cases the reading of the water-meter was recorded in the absence of the occupier or somebody on his behalf, the Chairman's order on applications of protest against such excess demand was seldom or never communicated to the applicant, bills of such excess demand for several quarters ranging over more than one year were allowed to be piled up and served upon the defaulting occupier, no steps taken to enforce the payment of the demand for a particular quarter as it became due if there was a legitimate ground for the enforcement of such payment and then one fine morning the defaulting occupier is served with a notice accompanied by bills of demand for a year or so that if the demands are not paid within 24 hours the pipe-connection of the premises in respect of which the default was made, will be cut off and this unfair and peremptory *ukase* was often enforced in grilling weather when cholera raged fiercely in the town ! In vain the poor occupier may point out that the Chairman should enquire whether the excess consumption of water was due to latent defect in the water-pipes which it is the duty of the Municipal Inspectors to inspect from time to time, to wilful and negligent misuse or wastage of water by the occupier or to neces-

sary consumption for domestic purposes within the meaning of the explanation attached to Section 269 of the Calcutta Municipal Act. In vain the aggrieved party may show that Section 283 of the Act providing for stoppage of water-supply does not apply to his case, that the Chairman should proceed under Section 272 which provides that any rent due under Section 270 Sub-section (4) and any payment due under Section 271 shall be recoverable in the manner provided by Chapter XVIII for the recovery of the Consolidated Rate. In matters like these, the rate-prayers should bring their influence to bear upon the City Fathers to make them strain every nerve to afford proper and prompt redress to the wronged party.

IV.

(3) *Methods of election and nomination of Commissioners with due regard to the fair representation of the various interests.*

On this head the recommendations of the Government of India contained in their Despatch to the Secretary of State for India on the Reform Scheme regarding the representation of the various interests in India on the Legislative Councils may be adopted as a model so far as they can be made applicable to the Corporation of Calcutta. They come to the conclusion that representation by classes and interests is the only practical method embodying the elective principle in the constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils. In the course of his speech in the House of Lords when the Indian Councils' Bill which became law in 1892 was the subject of debate in that House, Lord Ripon referred to the extreme difficulty of selecting men who represent the various classes of the community, and the various sections of opinion as well as the various localities of India. Lord Northbrook considered that provision should be made for the representation of different classes of people—of different races and different religions. In a later stage of the discussion, Lord Kimberley

agreeing with Lord Northbrook observed. "It had been found in this country not very easy to protect the interests of minorities by any contrivance that can be devised, but there must be found some mode in India of seeing that minorities, such as the important body of Mahomedans who are frequently in a minority in parts of that country, are fully represented." In the House of Commons, Sir Richard Temple observed that in fixing the ratio of members, the interests to be represented and the classes which constitute the bulk of the people ought to be the determining factors rather than the population.

To the principle thus affirmed by both Houses of Parliament, Lord Lansdowne's Government endeavoured to give as wide a scope as was then possible in the regulations framed by them for the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Councils. In the letters addressed by them to Local Governments on the 15th August 1892, they enumerated the interests which seemed to be of sufficient importance to require representation and indicated the manner in which the seats to be filled by recommendation should be allotted so as to secure the object in view.

The Government of Lord Minto in their Despatch containing the Reform Proposals state that they are impressed with the unanimity of feeling in favour of a large Council and consider that the rise in the standard of general intelligence and the universal desire for a greater share in the management of public business, render an increase inevitable and desirable. For ordinary purposes the Government are prepared to dispense with official majorities in Councils. They have every hope that the confidence they are willing to place in the intelligence and public spirit of the non-official members will be justified and that increased responsibility will bring with it the requisite forbearance. They believe that on all ordinary occasions the Government may reckon with practical certainty upon securing sufficient non-official support to enable them to carry on the work of

legislation with a Council containing less than the full quota of official members, and they are willing to give this system a fair trial. The Corporation may be permitted to settle the methods of election and nomination of Commissioners on the principles laid down above.

V.

(4) Powers and constitution of the deliberative and Executive Councils.

The municipal authorities charged with carrying out the provisions of the Act are (1) a Corporation, (2) a General Committee of the Corporation and (3) a Chairman of the Corporation. Of these authorities the first is deliberative and the second and third are executive. The Corporation is to formulate a general scheme of municipal work, to provide ways and means for executing it and to decide what extraordinary works of improvement are necessary and how to meet the necessary cost whether from the ordinary income of the Municipality, by additional rates or taxes or by loans. The General Committee have to devise the best methods of carrying out the decisions of the Corporation and the Chairman is to give effect to such decisions by following such methods. It is provided in the Act that if any doubt arises as to the municipal authority to which any particular function pertains, the Chairman shall refer the matter to the Local Government, whose decision shall be final. As it is desirable to make the municipal law conformable to the liberal spirit of the Reform Scheme, imparting an independent character to the Corporation, the exercise of such official power may injuriously affect such character. Moreover, if the Corporation is allowed to elect its Chairman from among the Commissioners there will be hardly any dispute as to the respective functions to be exercised by the three municipal authorities. For the Chairman being now a nominee of the Local Govern-

ment naturally feels an inclination to convert the Corporation into a department of Government moulding and shaping its policy and actions as dictated by those of the Government. If, however, the Chairman is made to think that he is subordinate to the Corporation and must carry out its behests loyally and faithfully, there will be hardly any occasion when he will arrogate to himself or usurp the functions possessed by the ruling and advisory councils designed to guide and regulate the course of their chief executive officer. As the Reform Scheme proposes to confer a greater degree of independent power upon municipalities than they possess at present, the controlling power of Government must be considerably reduced or slackened so as to make the exercise of such independent power possible or effective. For instance, the power conferred upon the Local Government under sections 22, 23 and 24 of the Calcutta Municipal Act is calculated to materially hamper the free action of the Corporation. Section 24 may only be quoted to show the amount of vast arbitrary power which has been reserved by Government in regard to the grave question of the necessity or otherwise of embarking on a stupendous project involving expenditure beyond the limits of ordinary Municipal income. The section runs thus :—

(1) If, within the period fixed by any order issued under Section 23, action directed under Clause (i) of that section has not been duly taken, and cause has not been shown as aforesaid, the Local Government may by order—

- (a) appoint some person to take the action so directed,
- (b) fix the remuneration to be paid to him and
- (c) direct that such remuneration and the cost of taking such action shall be defrayed out of the Municipal Funds, and, if necessary, that any one or more of the rates or other taxes authorised by part IV shall be levied or increased, but not so as to exceed any maximum prescribed by that Part.

(2) The person appointed under Sub-section (1) may, for the purpose of taking the action directed as aforesaid, exercise any of the powers conferred on any Municipal authority by or under this Act which are specified in this behalf in the order issued under Sub-section (1).

(3) With the previous sanction of the Government of India, the Local Government may, in addition to, or instead of, directing under Sub-section (1) the levy or increase of any rates or other taxes, direct, by Notification in the *Calcutta Gazette*, that any sum of money, which may, in its opinion, be required for giving effect to any order issued under that Sub-section be borrowed, by way of debenture on the security of all or any of the said rates or other taxes, at such rate of interest, and upon such terms and as to the time of repayment and otherwise, as may be specified in the Notification.

(4) The provisions of Sections 131 to 141 shall apply to any loan raised in pursuance of Sub-section (3).

The provision is against the grain of the proposed scheme of Local Self-Government in India.

VI.

(5) Is a separate President of the Councils necessary ?

It is provided by the Calcutta Municipal Act that the Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Corporation and the General Committee. If at the time appointed for holding such meetings, the Chairman is absent, one of the members present to be chosen by those members for the purpose shall preside. As the Chairman is the Executive head of the Deliberative and Advisory Councils of the Corporation, both for purposes of subordination of powers and fairness and latitude of discussion, it is desirable that the Chairman of the Corporation should not by virtue of his position as such be entitled to preside at the meetings of such Councils, but that they should have the option to choose either the Chairman or any of their members present as

their president. If the non-official members form a substantial majority on the Municipal Councils, it is immaterial whether the official Chairman remains a permanent president or is chosen to preside as occasion arises. But under the existing Act the Commissioners, fifty in number, are equally divided as elected and nominated, that is to say, as non-official and official members with a casting vote residing in the official Chairman. As the object of the Reform Scheme is to liberalise and broaden the basis of Local Self-Government it is desirable that the non-official members should greatly preponderate in the Corporation. In Lord Morley's Despatch on the Reform Scheme there is the following remarkable passage :—“Your Excellency claims for your scheme as a whole that it will really and effectively associate the people of India in the work not only of occasional legislative but of actual everyday administration. The claim is abundantly justified, yet the scheme hardly pretends to be a complete representation of the entire body of changes and improvements in the existing system that are evidently present to the minds of some of those whom your Government has consulted, and that to the best of my judgment are now demanded by the situation described in the opening words of the Despatch. It is evidently desirable, your Excellency will agree, to present our reformed constitutional system as a whole. From this point of view it seems necessary to attempt without delay our effectual advance in the direction of Local Self-Government. The principles that should inspire and regulate measures with this aim can hardly be laid down in sounder or clearer terms than in the Resolution published by the Government of India on the 18th May 1882.” The two important directions in which Local Self-Government is proposed to be improved are by securing a decided non-official majority on the Corporation and by restricting strict official control. These two concessions if granted would decide the question at issue.

VII.

(6) *Limits and Procedure of Debates in Councils.*

It often happens that at meetings held for the transaction of any business the members make frequent and tiresome digressions intended rather for display of learning, eloquence and wit than for throwing light upon and facilitating its despatch. They should remember that such places of meeting are not the proper arena for gladiatorial fights nor the public platform to the audience on any burning questions of the day. Desire to elicit truth and not mere popular applause should be the main object of speaking at any Municipal meeting. As remarked by Bacon, some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain commonplaces and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous." Despatch is the life of business and its principal value, for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought dearly where there is small despatch. Long and tedious speeches are as fit for prompt disposal of business as a robe with a long train is for a race. There are three parts of business: the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection or resolution. Despatch requires that the first and the third should be the work of few and the second only of many. Pertinent discussion and keeping a steady view to the subject-matter are great aids to despatch. But despatch to be of value should be by coming to a definite and clear conclusion and not by simply hurrying through the business keeping some parts of it unsettled or obscure so as to necessitate future deliberation. It is not proper to interrupt any one in the midst of his speech, for he may thereby lose the thread of his

reasoning and become so confused as to take more time to put his thoughts in an orderly manner than would be necessary if he were allowed to go on in his own way. Another point of importance is to place such persons in charge of certain propositions as are well qualified to deal with them ably and satisfactorily. Above all things the discussion should be conducted in a dispassionate and cool temper in language of moderation and with tact and judgment.

VIII.

(7) Powers and Responsibilities of Chairman as the Executive Head of the Staff.

Subject to certain restrictions, the entire executive power for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Calcutta Municipal Act vests in the Chairman who has also special functions to discharge : (a) to perform all the duties and exercise all the powers imposed or conferred upon him by the Act ; (b) to prescribe the duties of, and exercise supervision and control over, the acts and proceedings of all Municipal officers and servants, and subject, to the provisions of Chapter VI, dispose of all questions relating to the service of the said officers and servants, and their pay, privileges and allowances ; (c) on the occurrence or threatened occurrence of any sudden accident or unforeseen event involving or likely to involve, extensive damage to any property of the Corporation or danger to human life, to take such immediate action as the emergency shall appear to him to justify or require, reporting forthwith to the General Committee and to the Corporation, when he has done so, the action he has taken and his reason for taking the same, and the amount of cost, if any, incurred or likely to be incurred, in consequence of such action, when such cost is not covered by a current budget grant. The Chairman has to prepare the annual administration report and statement of accounts. He may by general or special order in

writing, delegate to any Municipal officer any of the Chairman's powers, duties, or functions under the Act, or any rule, bye-law or regulation made thereunder except those imposed upon or vested in him by certain sections of the Act.

The nature and character of the Chairman's action depends upon the manner in which he exercises the statutory powers conferred upon him. For instance, if upon the information of some municipal employee or other informer he takes certain proceedings without ascertaining the truth of such information by some reliable corroborative evidence he will place himself in the same awkward and unenviable position as the police often do by similar careless and hasty steps.

IX.

(8) Causes of the Alleged Corruption and their Remedy.

The Act prohibits the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Deputy Chairman and Municipal officers and servants from having share or interest in contract or employment with the Corporation, being indebted and from engaging in other business with certain exceptions. A Commissioner who is convicted of any non-bailable offence is liable to forfeit his office as such. But besides these prohibitions under the Municipal Act there are several causes of corruption which is punishable under the Criminal Law. The causes of such corruption of which Municipal underlings are generally guilty are:—(1) want of proper vigilance and supervision over their acts by superior officers; (2) leaving the ratepayers who have to obtain sanction for certain original building works, additions or repairs at the tender mercies of the officers concerned; (3) giving *carte blanche* to Municipal officers in respect of certain alleged acts of malfeasance, misfeasance and non-feasance under the Act on the part of rate-payers; (4) a general disposition to shield Municipal officers or servants from the legal consequences of their abuse or misuse of power charged by aggrieved rate-payers; (5)

readiness to take action upon the reports or statements submitted by Municipal officers without testing their accuracy by independent and reliable evidence or counter-statement.

The remedies are simple enough. Avoid the above courses of action or rather take the steps opposite to them and corruption will much abate, if it will not entirely disappear. Of course nobody charges the Municipal authorities with directly or indirectly encouraging or conniving at corruption on the part of Municipal officers and servants but they seem to regard them above suspicion like Cæsar's wife.

X.

(g) General principles of Local Self-Government as applied to Calcutta.

As the Indian Municipalities, both rural and urban, have been based principally upon the provisions of Municipal Acts for the Local Self-Government of the boroughs of Great Britain, a brief description of the general features and principles of such Acts will be of great help to introduce municipal improvements in India.

The following abstract is made from the "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. XVII :—

With a few exceptions arising under local Acts, the following description applies to all the Municipal boroughs, in England and Wales, similar provisions having been made for the boroughs of Scotland and Ireland by Acts of Parliament passed for those parts of the United Kingdom. The powers and duties of Council are defined by the Municipal Code. The number of councillors varies from twelve to forty-eight according to the size of the borough and in the case of a new corporation the number is fixed by a provision in the charter. The qualification of a councillor is to be an enrolled resident, burgess, or if not resident within the district, residing within 15 miles of the borough

and having in either case the property qualification required by the Act, provided that he is not a clergyman or a regular dissenting minister, or interested in any office, place or contract with which the Corporation is concerned. The qualification of a burgess is to be enrolled on the burgess roll as the rate-paying occupier of a house or other building in the borough or within 7 miles distance from it. Women may be burgesses, but are not qualified for corporate office. In many boroughs, there are ancient classes of freemen qualified as such by birth, servitude or marriage (and formerly in many cases qualified by gift or purchase); but these freemen, as such, have not the rights of burgesses, though they are entitled to the parliamentary franchise and to their share in charities and corporation property under titles accruing to their class before the reform of 1835. The qualification of an alderman is the same as that of a councillor, and the mayor is chosen from the aldermen or councillors, or persons qualified for such positions. The councillors hold office for three years, one-third of their number being annually renewed by ballot. If the borough is divided into wards, an alderman acts as returning-officer for the elections in each ward; if not, the Mayor acts as the returning-officer for the borough. Municipal elections fall within the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883. The aldermen hold office for six years, one-half of their number retiring every three years in rotation. The Mayor holds office for one year. His election is the first business at the quarterly meetings held on the 9th day of November, when the amount of his remuneration is fixed by the Council. He is the only member of the Corporation who receives a salary. The Council chooses the Mayor and Aldermen and appoints the officers of the Corporation as the Town Clerk and Treasurer, the Sheriff when the Borough is a county of itself, and the Coroner and the Clerk of the Peace when it has separate Quarter Sessions. The Council appoints such general and special committees as may be required.

and has the general management of the corporate property subject to the supervision of the Treasury ; it makes all necessary bye-laws subject to disallowance by the Privy Council, if necessary. With exceptions arising from the provisions of Local Acts, the Council regulates the police force, the lighting and watching of the borough, the management of markets and burial grounds and the execution of the laws relating to public health. The expenses are defrayed out of the borough fund, which includes the income of the general corporate estate, supplemented by a borough rate paid out of the poor rate or assessed upon a similar basis. A watch rate, if required, may be levied on the whole borough or on a select portion of the district. When expenditure is required for objects of a permanent character, the Council is empowered to raise the amount by loans, charged on the rates and repayable by instalments subject to the approval of the Treasury or other public departments entrusted with the control of the matter according to the nature of the improvement required. The whole of the accounts are audited by borough auditors of whom one must be a councillor appointed by the Mayor and the other two elected by the burgesses from persons qualified to be councillors. A return is made to the Local Government Board of the receipts and expenditure for the year and an abstract of all these returns is laid every year before Parliament. Some control over the expenditure is also reserved to the High Court of Justice by a provision that all orders for payment must be signed by three Councillors and the town Clerk and that any such order may be moved *certiorari* into the Queen's Bench Division. The Aldermen have no greater powers than other Councillors excepting that they may act as the returning officers for wards as above mentioned and an Alderman may act for the Mayor if he is temporarily unable to discharge his duty and has not appointed a deputy. The Mayor is the head of the Corporation and is *ex-officio* a Magistrate for the borough and a

member of the Watch Committee. He is the returning officer at Parliamentary Elections and acts with two elected revising assessors as the revising officer if the borough is not represented in Parliament. His office is vacated by death or bankruptcy and must be filled up with all convenient speed after any such vacancy occurs. The last *ex-Mayor* is also *ex-officio* a Magistrate for the borough. Where the borough has a separate commission of the peace, the borough justices, with the last mentioned exceptions, are appointed by the Crown. A separate commission does not of itself exempt the borough from the concurrent jurisdiction of the country justices. A stipendiary Magistrate may be appointed by a Secretary of State on the application of the Council, and when appointed he is *ex-officio* a Justice for the borough. When the borough has a separate court of Quarter Sessions, the Recorder is the Judge but in certain cases may appoint an assistant or deputy ; the Recorder must be a barrister of five years' standing and is appointed by the Crown on the recommendation of the Home Secretary ; the Recorder is also *ex-officio* a Justice for the borough. When the borough has such a court, it ceases to be liable to the county-rate but must contribute to the expenses arising from prosecution and conviction of prisoners from the borough at the assizes. In the case of boroughs which were liable before 1832 to contribute to the county-rate, a contribution to the expenses of the county is still required. Subject to an exception as to judges and assessors appointed before 1835 and to the provisons of various local Acts, the Recorder is the judge of any civil Court existing in the borough by prescription.

The privileges of the cities in the United States illustrate the proposition that the history of every country must determine the type of its municipalities. In almost all parts of Europe the civic franchises arose out of some treaty or contract between the lord and his dependants. In France however the character of the Corporations was gradually modified as the communal system was extended to the rural districts.

In the United States, the French model has been followed with the addition of many improvements ; and where self-government has been impartially granted to the county, the township and the village, the purely Municipal organisation has lost its special significance. It is regarded in the American courts as a revokable agency established by the state (without contract or consideration for the grant) for the purpose of carrying out the necessary details of civil government among the inhabitants of an urban district. It is considered to have no vested right to any of its powers or franchises which are only allowed to exist in furtherance of the design for which the Municipal polity was constituted, that object being the exercise in subordination of the legislature of certain minor powers of government over part of the territory of the state. Each city has the general powers of a corporation and no others, but it is not in any other way entrusted with judicial authority.

After the fall of the Corporation of London in 1681, the provincial boroughs lost or surrendered their privileges and though the Charters were revived at the Revolution, the narrow and corrupt system remained. The Commissioners of 1835 reported a general and just dissatisfaction with the state of the Municipal institution, great distrust of the self-elected councils. The recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission that the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation should be elected by the Commissioners just as the Chairman of the Municipality of Bombay is elected, if adopted, will certainly liberalise and broaden the basis of the Municipal administration of Calcutta. It will be remembered that it was the Bombay system which was recommended for adoption in Calcutta by the popular representatives in the Bengal Legislative Council during the passage through that Council of the Calcutta Municipal Bill. The recommendation was not then accepted ; now that it has been repeated by the Royal Commission on Decentralisation itself, Government, we hope, will no longer ignore it. The present

constitution of the Corporation is one of the worst fruits of the Curzonian *régime*. A revision of the constitution of the Calcutta Corporation, giving the people the paramount voice in its affairs that ought to be theirs, is doubtless one of the things that must happen if the policy of conciliation is to be successful. The other recommendations of the Hobhouse Commission relate to some of the details and methods of administration such as to make the Corporation in a large measure independent of the Provincial Government.

LITERARY SOCIETIES IN INDIA :

THEIR OBJECTS AND METHODS OF WORK.

LIITERATURE serves to record in a durable way the history of nations, their manners, customs, religions, the productions of art, science and philosophy and their thoughts and sentiments expressed either in prose or poetry. The civilisation of a nation depends upon the excellence of its literature and no nation can hold its own in the scale of civilised nations without literary distinction. India is a rich store-house for antiquarian researches. Sanskrit literature contains vast treasures of thought on a variety of subjects affecting the best interests of mankind. Sanskrit is one of the classical languages. Sir William Jones, who announced that Sanskrit, Greek and Latin had all sprung from one common source, characterised it to be of a wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than either. The oldest Sanskrit literature is the Vedas. The Rig Veda is a collection of hymns and poems of various dates, some of which go back to the earliest days of Aryan invasion of North-Western India ; the whole collection, however, may be roughly ascribed to the 14th or 15th century B. C.

In course of time it came to assume a sacred character and the theory of inspiration in support of this shows at least the high veneration in which it is held. The Rig Veda was divided into ten mandals or books, each mandal being assigned to some old family and out of these were formed three new Vedas, the Yajur, the Sama and the Atharva. The Yajur and the Sama may be described as prayer books compiled from the Rig for the use of the choristers and the ministers of the priests. The Atharva Veda is described as a collection of poems mixed with popular sayings, medical advice, magical formulæ

and the like. A high order of civilisation prevailed in the Vedic age. The history of Aryan Hindu civilisation undoubtedly forms a unique chapter in the history of human culture and progress extending over a period of thirty centuries. Besides its great antiquity and sublime poetry the Rig Veda has been correctly interpreted as showing at a glance how the human mind had travelled from the simplicity of nature-worship to grasp the most intricate and complicated problem of metaphysics—the idea of the Creator from His works of creation. It presents also a faithful record of the first phase of Hindu civilisation in Aryavarta when the Aryan patriarch hewed down with his own hands hills and constructed villages and towns, bridges and high roads ; when every ablebodied-Hindu unlike the modern times took the sword and the spear to defend his country, when women composed hymns for the Rig Veda, watched the motions of the stars, wove the web of metaphysical enquiry ; when caste did not separate the people into so many fragmentary sections, each moving in its narrow groove, but when the Hindu community was conglomerated into one united whole, able and willing to act in combination and concert in their country's cause ; when religious worship was not a solemn farce of priests and temples, but when every father of a family lighted the sacrificial fire in his own hearth and made to it the simple offerings of rice and milk, the sacrificial animal or the libation of Soma-beer and the mother of the family acted as her husband's assistant ; when widows were brought to the altar of a second marriage and when the hymeneal knot was not tied round the neck of an infant daughter. This revered volume contains not only the nucleus of Hindu religion, mythology and philosophy, but it contains also the seeds of those grand and sublime truths of religion which have so vastly and variously influenced the world at large. And do they not shed a flood of light on the early phases of Hindu civilisation and culture of bygone days ? The primary doctrine of the Vedas is the Unity of God. The three principal manifestations of the Divinity (Brahma,

Vishnu and Siva) with other personified attributes and energies are indeed mentioned, but the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system. Then we have the Upanishads or philosophical commentaries on the Vedas and the six *Darshans* or schools of philosophy, *viz.*, the prior Mimansa founded by Jaimini, the latter Mimansa or Vedanta attributed to Vyasa, the Nya or the logical school of Gautma, the Atomic School of Konada, the Atheistical School of Kapila and the Theistic School of Patanjali. These two last schools agree in many points and are included in the common name of Sankhya. The two principal schools are the Sankhya and the Vedanta. The first maintains the eternity of matter and its principal branch denies the existence of God. The other school derives all things from God and one sect denies the reality of matter. All the Indian systems, atheistic as well as theistic, agree in their object which is to teach the means of obtaining beatitude, or in other words, Metempsychosis or deliverance from all corporeal encumbrances. Next we have the Manu Sanhita or the Institutes of Manu. Manu's Code, according to Mr. Elphinstone, seems rather to be the work of a learned Brahman designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindu institution. On this supposition it would show the state of society as correctly as a legal code since it is evident that it incorporates existing laws and any alterations it may have introduced with a view to bring them up to its preconceived standard must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written. Again we have the two celebrated epic poems, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the one celebrates the Lunar Race of Delhi, the other forms the epic history of the Solar Race of Ajodha, the ancient capital of Oudh. The two poems preserve the legends of the two most famous ancient Hindu dynasties. The compiler of the Mahabharata was Vyasa and that of the Ramayana Valmiki. Both of them are held in universal esteem and admiration for their magnificence of imagery and elegance of description. They embrace history, geography, genea-

logy, theology and the nucleus of many a popular myth. Both the works are more voluminous than either Homer's Iliad or Virgil's *Aeneid*. The Mahabharata contains 22,000 and the Ramayana 48,000 lines, while the Iliad contains only 16,000 and the *Aeneid* less than 10,000 lines.

The above enumeration and description of a vast body of Sanskrit literature, suggests the necessity of forming literary societies in India for the purpose of exploring the treasures of valuable thought embodied therein. That is to say, with the object of (1) adopting a systematic method of studying and making researches in the literature ; (2) polishing and improving the languages and dialects of India most of which are descended from Sanskrit, *viz.*, Prakrita, Pali, Singalese, Hindustani or Urdu, Bengali, Maharati, Assamese, Sindhi, Gujrati, Nepali, Kashmiri, etc. Of these Bengali and Urdu deserve conspicuous mention. Bengali has received a wonderful growth and development on account of the manifold literature in poetry and prose, in works of histories, epics, novels, dramas, theology, science and philosophy. Hindustani or Urdu, the language of the camp, is Hindi mixed with Arabic and Persian. It is, in fact, a *lingua franca* which grew up at the time of the Mahomedan invasion in the 11th century. As the science of language teaches us that with the growth of material prosperity and civilisation of a country, language tends from multiplicity to unity, it will be one of the principal objects of the Indian literary societies to reduce the manifold languages and dialects of India to two or three central ones, *viz.*, Bengali, Urdu, and if need be, Maharatti. A nation cannot be too proud of its national literature. It is the principal distinction of the nationality of a people. We may learn English because it is the language of our rulers, because it unfolds to us ideas and thoughts of Western civilisation and because so long as the unification of Indian dialects is not brought about, it will best serve as a common medium of communication with the

several Indian people. But if we rely exclusively on it, forgetting our mother tongue, we will lose our individuality as a nation, our ideas and conceptions will be anglicised or westernised and so we will lose our real independence in the best acceptance of the term.

In order to preserve the native vigour, purity and idiom of the Indian National language, it must not be adulterated with foreign mixtures so as to turn it into a sort of *lingua franca*. What would have been the fate of the melodious and forcible, simple and clear English language, if the Norman conquest had obliterated the Anglo-Saxon language and transformed it into Norman French? Every language has its idioms or peculiar modes of expression which cannot be accurately translated into a foreign language. As language is the reflex of the mind, the various thoughts and ideas embodied in our idiomatic vernaculars would be forgotten or lost sight of if they were displaced by a foreign tongue. But while encouraging the study of Oriental literature English should not be disregarded, for it embodies a material civilisation which ought to supplement, or be superadded to, the purely spiritual character of the remnants of the ancient Indo-Aryan civilisation which remain to the present generation of Hindus. Now as to the methods of literary societies for accomplishing their objects. The first and most important object will be to try to improve and extend the scope of the existing methods already in operation. The late Babu Srigopal Basu Mullick created a Sanskrit Professorship on the lines of the Tagore Law Professorship delivering a certain course of lectures every year on Sanskrit literature and publishing them for distribution or sale. The institution has been recognised by the Calcutta University. By appealing to the generous instincts of patrons of learning, the number of such institutions may be increased and established in different parts of India. These institutions should be affiliated to the several Universities so as to secure for the passed students attached to them some distinction like that

of the University M. A. in Sanskrit. The number of *sols* or schools for Sanskrit Titles Examination should also be increased. In fact before the recognition and support by Government of such schools they were already of indigenous growth. The pundits actuated by a laudable desire to spread the knowledge of Sanskrit literature maintained *sols* at their own expense. It is gratifying to notice that their disinterested and self-sacrificing exertions have met with marks of approbation by our generous and enlightened Government holding out reward for successful study. These *sols* should correspond and act in concert with the institutions for Sanskrit Professorship and the task of both should be so divided and arranged as to finish in due time by their united efforts a complete course of lectures on Vedic and post-Vedic or classical Sanskrit literature. One characteristic of such literature is that all sorts of knowledge, theological, literary, philosophical, medical, etc., are jumbled up together in one volume. The information on anyone of these subjects is so vast and comprehensive as to form the subject-matter of one complete work. But it is scattered here and there throughout the volume and not systematically arranged in one place. The translators have followed the original plan and method of treatment and so have not helped much in the way of digesting and grasping the manifold ideas and thoughts interspersed in it. The best plan would be to collect the scattered thoughts on each subject, arranging and putting them together in a methodical order and noting points of difference if any, from modern philosophy or science. Our vernacular literature, especially the Bengali, has received a wonderful growth and development. The blank verse of Michael Modhu Sudon Datta, the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the dramas of Deno Bandhu Mittra and Girish Chandra Ghosh, the theological and moral essays of Akshaya Kumar Dutt, the general literary productions of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the poems of Hem Chandra Banerji and Nobin Chandra Sen, the chaste

and pure diction of Robindra Nath Tagore, and last, though not least, the dictionary of Nogendra Nath Bose as voluminous as that of Webster, have considerably enriched the Bengali literature and chalked out different paths of literary pursuits.

There have been a host of imitators of these eminent authors, but none of them has excelled or even equalled them either in artistic excellence of style or originality of views. In some quarters the literary taste has shown a tendency to corruption. Nothing but sound criticism and the dissemination of enlightened views consequent upon the general spread of liberal education can correct such vitiated tastes and impart a healthy moral tone to our literature. It should be one of the principal objects of literary societies to expose and prevent the publication of obscene, scurrilous and seditious literature. Freedom of thought and speech should not be mistaken for unbridled licence. While guarding and protecting the privilege of the former, the abuse and daring malignity of the other should not be allowed to go unchecked. A desire of catering for the humourous portion of humanity by exhibiting the ridiculous and the grotesque is no just excuse for exceeding the due bounds of decency and decorum. The subject may be concluded by summarising the practical methods which literary societies in India may adopt for accomplishing their objects.

1. To collect manuscripts, both Vernacular and Sanskrit and publish them after careful examination and correction so that these obscure and unnoticed sources of knowledge may not be lost to the nation.

2. To publish biographies of eminent ancient literary authors fixing their chronology and describing their surroundings and environments including the influence on the race and the individual and the literary epochs in which they flourished. The style and substance of a writer are greatly influenced by the period to which he belongs *i.e.*, the stage of literary and social development in which he is born, because the writer of one age inherits the accumulated experience

and wisdom of previous ages and uses the productions of such age as models.

3. To encourage literary effort by offering rewards for the production of original and really meritorious works and pecuniary aid for making literary researches.

4. To spread the knowledge of sound literature by establishing circulating libraries in different parts of the country and organising popular lectures on literary subjects by securing the services, which will, in most cases, be gratuitously offered, of Professors of literature of Colleges and other distinguished speakers.

5. To improve the standard of taste of the current literature of the day including journalistic literature by means of sound criticism through the medium of independent and impartial journals and periodicals started by literary societies. It is desirable that every literary society or an association of such societies should have well conducted organs of their own to set forth their objects, to popularise the subjects of their enquiry and generally to improve the cause of literature.

6. To establish correspondence with the existing reported literary societies in the civilised parts of the world inviting opinions on the efficacy of the existing methods and adopting suggestions for improvement.

7. Above all, to enlist the sympathy of the aristocracy of the country and our generous and enlightened Government in order to provide funds for carrying out the multifarious objects of literary societies. Some of the literary societies in Calcutta are already working on the lines suggested but their number should be increased so that effective service may be rendered to the cause of literature by their combined action.

FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE following among other points deserve special consideration in connection with the subject under enquiry. (1) The present position and the advisability of free and compulsory mass education. (2) The best means of introducing compulsion. (3) The constitution of the body who will govern the scheme. (4) The financial means by which free education can be spread.

The situation in India presents a sad contrast with that of other countries. Taking the question of literacy, we find that Europe leads off with 98 per cent. Even backward Russia has 25 per cent., but India can show only a paltry 6 per cent., who can read and write. The school attendance is also proportionately small here. In America it is 21 per cent., Great Britain 20 per cent. Japan 11 per cent., in India only 1·9 per cent. The small and inadequate expenditure on education accounts for such poor results. While America spends 16d. per head, England 10, Japan 1—2, India spends only 1d. per head. Not to speak of advanced European countries, India's backwardness is manifest on a comparison of her position of affairs with that of countries similarly situated like herself. Education has spread with marvellous strides in the Philippine Islands. One of the first things the Americans did was to make education entirely free and at her own cost and latterly compulsory. The Filipinos, living under American administration for about 13 years have got 6 per cent. of them educated, whereas the Indians enjoying the benefits of the generous and benevolent British rule for a century and a half can only show a progress of 2 percent. The same remarks are applicable to the people of Ceylon who cannot be regarded as superior to the Indians. Education there was compulsory at Govern-

ment schools: But in accordance with the recommendation of a Commission of Enquiry appointed in 1905, the scope and extent of compulsory education was much enlarged. Some areas were selected in which the boys were to be freely and compulsorily educated for six years, the costs to be met out of the road cess and the management to be under District Committees. The latest official report shows that the experiment has been a success.

Coming nearer home the principality of Baroda shows a record of better results. His Highness the Maharaja, who is a thoroughly enlightened and liberal-minded prince, made education compulsory throughout the State after a tentative extension of it to small selected areas for short periods. Boys between 6 and 12 and girls between 6 and 10 years of age must attend. It is gratifying to notice that within a few years 79 per cent. of the boys of this age were at school as against 21 per cent. in British India. Whilst Baroda with its limited resources expends $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per head, India spends only 1d per head.

The advisability of free and compulsory mass education cannot be disputed on any reasonable grounds. It is in the interests of the masses that they should be enabled by means of education to prevent them from being victims of the unscrupulous money-lending classes and the grasping agents of their landlords; from being in the clutches of political fanatics who may try to seduce them from loyalty and allegiance to the powers that be by specious arguments and cunning misrepresentations intended to show that their miserable lot is the direct result of defective and bad foreign rule. This view is supported by Adam Smith, who said it was an advantage to the State that the people should be instructed in elementary education, for then they would be more disposed to examine and more capable of seeing through the interested complaints of faction and sedition. To such remedial advantages may be added others of a positive kind. Education will enable the masses to carry on agricultural and

manufacturing industries on modern improved lines. On this subject the presidential speech of Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter (a distinguished Judge of the Calcutta High Court who since his retirement has been taking active and intelligent interest in a spirit of commendable sympathy and benevolence in all questions regarding the elevation of the down-trodden and depressed classes) at the Albert Hall Meeting, which was a masterpiece of eloquence and erudition dealing with the momentous problem in all its bearings, may be usefully referred to. What would India be, he very properly asked, if the masses do not know how to increase the production of the soil, how to manufacture the articles which we urgently need in this country? They must not be left in darkness—in barbarism. The difference between the higher and lower classes should be minimised. We must be consolidated as a people for the social and economic good of the country. The only means by which we can achieve India's good is education. We have been trying to raise the depressed classes, and it is our duty to raise them. It is our duty to see that those who are untouchables are educated.

It should be noted that the character of the education proposed for the masses will, in the fulness of time, be of a technical kind which will enable them to carry on their callings or crafts with better advantage. That is to say, they will be able to produce two blades of grass where only one grew before. Besides making a near approach to the level of thought prevailing in the higher orders of society they will be enabled by elementary education of the technical kind to improve their material condition. Mass education, therefore, may be viewed as a nucleus of social reform and economic improvement. As education and moral worth and not mere accident of birth should be the standard of caste distinction, the spread of education though of an elementary character among the masses imbuing them gradually but surely with enlightened views will go a great way towards raising their status in society and will protect them from the contemptuous

treatment to which they are now subjected. It is not difficult to understand how true and honest Swadeshim will be promoted by technical education. The recipients of such education being able to produce country goods equal in price and quality to foreign imported ones and sufficient in quantity there will be more demand for and preference to the former. And this seems to be the natural and normal method of promoting indigenous industries which may be called harmless boycott.

(2) The best means of introducing compulsion.

The common objections to compulsory education are that the time is not yet ripe for it, that the masses will lose rather than gain by it, that the heterogeneous character of the Indian society would make the trial a failure, that financial difficulty stands in the way of its successful introduction and so forth. The last objection will be dealt with under its separate head. The first one, *viz.*, that the time has not come, is untenable as no noble undertaking can be accomplished if we wait indefinitely for favourable time and tide. A thing fairly begun is half done. As with individuals so with nations, good opportunities and concurrence of favourable circumstances, unless availed of as they present themselves, are often lost. We must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures. We must strike the iron while it is hot. We must not let the grass grow under our feet. It should be remembered that under the civilising influence of British rule in India and the blessings of English education, the indolent apathy and dormant inertness born of pernicious social customs and the crude doctrine of fatalism, have given place to a healthy awakening of national consciousness destined to achieve high ends. The culture and public spirit of the educated classes are now directed to the attainment of such ends—India's political, moral and economic improvement. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils in India, both Imperial and Provincial, introducing a large independent non-official element into their constitution, the appoint-

ment of educated Indians as members of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and of the Local Governments and of the Secretary of State's India Council and the gradual opening to them of some high offices of the State, are a just recognition of the ability and moral worth of our men of light and leading. Nor are the energies of such men confined to their self-aggrandisement but extended to the amelioration of the condition of their less enlightened brethren. The movement of social reform which has already made considerable progress is doing away with invidious caste distinctions, removing the absurd restrictions to sea-voyage to foreign countries for the noble purposes of learning and commerce, teaching the people the dignity of labour and is proving useful in various other ways. The Swadeshi movement is a tangible expression of national activity directed towards fostering the growth and development of the local industries of India. The movement has done more for the poor and the labouring than for the well-to-do classes. The weavers, for instance, who in sheer despair were driven to forsake their professional calling and became common labourers to earn a living, are now being financed and trained to resume it with a fair chance of success. Elementary education of a technical kind is urgently needed to better the condition of our agriculturists and artisans. India is purely an agricultural country, nearly 83 per cent. of her population being agricultural. When so large a proportion of the people are engaged in husbandry, they will fare badly unless it undergoes considerable improvement. "No doubt the margin of cultivation," says Mr. T. N. Mukerji, "has rapidly expanded on all sides. Where formerly the roar of the tiger broke the stillness of the sleeping jungle, the busy hum can be heard of the multitude reaping the golden harvest. A more careful cultivation has also enabled valuable to take the place of less valuable crops." But our peasants are ignorant of agricultural science even of an elementary character. Their imperfect knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil, of the best

means of manuring it, of the proper choice of seeds, and their inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects, prevent them from obtaining the best available outturn.

Side by side with agricultural improvement there should be development of the manufactures of the country. Sir William Hunter pointed out the necessity of using every means for improving Indian manufactures. "There is no use in disguising the fact," he said, "that India has to compete with other countries in her industries in a way which she has not done before. India has to compete with Australia for wheat, with China for tea, with California and other countries, and she will only be able to do this if she gives her children the same kind of education as the people of those places have ; that lies at the root of all technical education. We wish that our agriculture shall beat the agriculture of other countries ; that our artisans in metals shall beat the artisans of other countries ; that our employees in cotton mills shall beat those of other countries ; and if you are to enable them to go so far you must give them the education of those in the other countries, and I sincerely hope that the country will take hold of this feeling." The plan proposed by the Famine Commissioners is as follows :—

"In treating of the improvement of agriculture we have indicated how we think the more scientific methods of Europe may be brought into practical operation in India by the help of specially trained experts, and the same general system may, we believe, be applied with success both to the actual operations of agriculture and to the preparation for the market of the raw agricultural staples of the country. Nor does there appear any reason why action of this sort should stop short at agricultural produce, and should not be extended to the manufactures which India now produces on a small scale or in a rude form, and which with some improvement might be expected to find enlarged sales and could take the place of similar articles now imported from foreign countries."

But both the agricultural and manufacturing classes being extremely poor, they can hardly afford to pay for their education. They are, again, not sufficiently intelligent to appreciate its blessings ; so free and compulsory education is the best and only means of satisfactorily solving the economic problem. There should not be any difference of opinion as to its necessity. It may be urged that the peasants will be deprived of the services of their adult children and dependants, if they are compelled to undergo a course of education during working hours. This objection may be met by opening night schools for such students or allowing them a few hours' leave from the schools in harvest seasons.

The heterogeneous character of the Indian society cannot be regarded as a serious stumbling-block in the way of introducing free and compulsory mass education. The narrow-minded and selfish desire hitherto felt of keeping the masses and the classes apart and at respectful distances, no longer finds expression either in the Press, the Platform or even in private conversation. The fate of the hierarchy of priesthood and the domineering and overbearing conduct of the aristocracy is destined to be, if it is not already, sealed. The gulf between the upper and the lower strata of society is going to be gradually bridged over. It is gratifying to notice that our educated countrymen are straining every nerve to remove social inequalities based not upon grounds of intellectual and moral worth but upon the absurd notion of and belief in the superiority of certain castes as such over others irrespective of the consideration whether they are worthy or not. Every right-thinking man will clearly see that caste status cannot be claimed as a divine gift as is erroneously supposed by some orthodox Hindus, but is simply a mark of distinction based upon occupation, learning and character. The grouping of society into classes is based upon division of labour. Such classification is artificial and not real, no calling or avocation as a means of honest livelihood should be condemned as ignoble ; each one is a link in the great chain

binding together the multifarious divisions of society. Instead of being the causes of insuperable barriers, these callings should be so many bonds of union among all classes in our society—a union of hearts, though not a union in respect of interdining and intermarriage with one another—a consummation of things which considering the peculiar constitution of the Hindu society and religion, is not practicable at present. It is only when through the influence of education, they all attain a tolerably uniform standard of intellectual and moral excellence that perfect social equality is possible. What is demanded in the interests of civilisation and national advancement is that some classes of society as such should not be regarded as heaven-born and others as fallen.

The *rationale* and genesis of the caste-system are to be found in the Bhagavat Geeta. Verse 41 of Chapter XVIII means thus :—The actions of the four castes—Brahman, Kshattriya, Vaisya and Sudra—are divided according to their disposition and quality. That is to say, the principle of the division of society into castes or sections is based upon the nature of actions and qualities. And it stands to reason that there should be a test or differentiating cause for the classification of society. The Geeta then lays down the distinctive features of the four castes. These are, respectively, spiritual perfection, military prowess, agricultural and commercial knowledge and capacity for only menial service. The legendary account of the growth of the castes also leads to the same inference. It is said that the Brahmanas rose from the mouth of Brahma or the Creator, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaisyas from his thigh, and the Sudras from his feet. It is simply an allegory meaning that the Brahmins represent the brain-power of the nation, the Kshatriyas are a strong safeguard for its protection and defence, the Vaisyas supply its necessaries of life, and the Sudras work as common labourers. Not only reason and common sense but Shastric texts discard the idea of the divine origin of the castes. Besides the provision in the Geeta, as already referred

to, a Sanscrit sloka clearly explains that a man is born a Sudra, he becomes a *dwija* or the twice-born by the performance of religious rites and sacraments, a *bipra* or the enlightened by the study of the Vedas and a Brahmana when he knows Brahma or the God. Now the question arises should a Brahmana be allowed to be regarded as such when he has ceased to possess the qualities which entitle him to the highest rank among the castes, and should a Sudra, who is found to possess Brahman-like qualities, be branded as untouchable and degraded ? The fact that Rishi Vishwamittra, a Kshattriya, was promoted to the rank of a Brahmana on account of his sanctity and learning goes to show that the Hindu Shastras do not present an insurmountable obstacle to the promotion of a lower to a higher caste. The paramount consideration of the progress of society urgently demands that there should be promotion and degradation in the castes or else it will remain in a stagnant and imperfect condition and there will be hardly any incentive to its members to maintain the dignity and status of the caste to which they belong or fear to lose it. The rigidity of the caste-system already shows signs of slackening, so any attempt to keep the several castes in water-tight compartments tending to produce habits of aloofness and unconcern in matters of common weal or woe, will signally fail. The education proposed to be imparted to the masses is calculated to break the walls of isolation and bring about national solidarity as well as individual progress. But as the masses are not intelligent enough to understand their real interests, they should be kindly compelled to receive education, though in the first instance it must necessarily be of an elementary character. There is every reason to hope that great and good results will follow from the spread of elementary education. In spite of the disintegration brought about by the caste-system, it is gratifying to notice that the people are ready and willing to make common cause in defence of a common right or in the redress of a common grievance.

The agitation in connection with the Consent Act and other questions of common interest, has shown that caste distinctions do not stand in the way of the Hindus uniting for the defence of their religious rights or other communities co-operating for the safeguard of their common interests. The history of the Indian National Congress goes to show satisfactorily that in spite of caste distinctions and wide differences of race and creed, the Indians can unite nationally for the enforcement of their political rights. What has been done with an illiterate proletariat can certainly be done immensely better with an educated one constituting the bulk of the nation. But although we are very sanguine of good results from mass education, we should be on our guard against the evils of little learning and the imitation of foreign manners and customs unsuited to the genius of Oriental civilisation. For true and lasting good there must be an Eastern foundation with a Western superstructure if need be. Our social organisation and economy has been much affected by the influence of foreign civilisation to the detriment of our indigenous industries. The levelling tendency of Western education is a potent factor in the poverty of the country. The men who were instrumental to the introduction of Western education into India fondly believed that that education would level up. They imagined that European literature and science would succeed in destroying the caste-system and thus bring about a fusion of the multifarious Hindu castes into one. All that European literature and science have succeeded in doing is making each separate caste into a social republic which owes only a nominal allegiance to the Brahmanas, but which is thoroughly independent of the other castes. The wisdom of the West has succeeded in disintegrating so far the social polity of India. And it is doubtful whether any further disintegration is possible in this direction. At all events it is doubtful whether such disintegration will ever do any good to the Indian people. The results which have followed from it are far from encouraging. For the

results have been that the so-called lower castes, the castes which had hitherto represented the industrial classes, have forsaken and are daily forsaking the industries in which their ancestors had excelled and are jostling with the higher or intellectual castes in the learned professions in the hope of becoming gentlemen. The education of the West, it must be held, has brought in its train a snobbishness which in times past was entirely foreign to the Hindu nature and the existence of which was impossible under the iron rule of the caste-system as it stood in pre-British times. All this as much as the competition of the West is responsible for the death of our indigenous industries. There is no doubt of the fact that these industries were placed at a fearful disadvantage when they had to face the competition of the West supported as the latter was by all the discoveries and appliances of modern science which have taken captive the forces of nature and are making them work for the benefit of man. But, if we consider the situation calmly, we must admit that there were other causes at work besides the competition of the West. In the present state of things the only course left open to our people is for the intellectual classes to take to some of the industries and thus show to the people that they are their real leaders. It is time for the intellectual castes to show by practice and example that their belief in the dignity of labour is sincere and honest and not a mere sham. India is a vast country, almost a continent, full of inexhaustible natural resources. Her poverty is mainly due to ignorance, prejudice and want of enterprising spirit on the part of her people to develop and utilise such resources and thereby bring out her potential wealth. Instead of joining in an indiscriminate rush, either towards the learned professions which have ceased to be lucrative by reason of overcrowding and keen competition, or to Government service the scope and extent of which is too limited to afford employment to more than a few, they would do well to cultivate the growth of local industries. Plain living and high thinking were what

our forefathers were noted for. These were also the principal characteristics of the ancient Greeks and Romans. From Sparta strangers were as much as possible excluded by a particular law lest they should introduce bad customs, soft manners or vicious habits. The whole of the citizens, young and old, made their principal repast at the public tables. The meals were coarse and parsimonious ; the conversation was fitted to improve the youth in virtue and cultivate the patriotic spirit. The well-known anecdote in the life of Cincinnatus the Roman Dictator is a typical representation of Roman simplicity of manners. He naturally preferred the charms of a retired country life to the fatiguing splendours of office, and on hearing that the Senate had appointed him the Dictator, said to his wife—"I fear, my dear wife, that for this year our little fields must remain unsown." Such sturdy and frugal habits and pastoral taste also characterised the ancient Hindus whose industry was agriculture. Our educated countrymen regard such a useful and healthy occupation as *infra dig*, hankering after Government service or rushing to the learned professions.

By co-operating with the people the intellectual classes can not only promote the material prosperity of the country but remove the evils of the caste-system. As, however, a society may be developed and improved, and so there must be disparity of intellectual and moral attainments of its members, caste distinctions cannot be totally done away with. In the society of every nationality constituted as at present, there must be Aryas and Sudras, Peers and Commons, Patriarchs and Plebeians so long as education which is the common leveller commencing, as it usually does, from the higher orders is not filtered down in a full measure to the lowest stratum of society. No human system is thoroughly perfect. Allowing for the shortcomings of our limited range of vision and experience, the influence of passion or prejudice which clouds our judgment to see things in their true colours, the omnipotence of habit which is aptly called second nature

tending to produce stolid conservatism unwilling to part with what it has been long familiarised, the best course for us should be to allow a system or practice to stand if by balancing its advantages with its disadvantages, the former are found to outweigh the latter. The system should not be eradicated but pruned down and trimmed so as to afford room for future luxuriant and improved growth. The thought and manners of the West permeate those of the Indians, and social revolution without healthy reform must be deplored when questionable canons are introduced into the system. Organisation, and not disorganisation, should be the motto in the adjustment of society, and it must needs be a matter for serious apprehension when revolution takes the place of evolution.

"The system of caste," says Sir Henry Cotton, "far from being the source of all the troubles which can be traced to Hindu Society has rendered the most important service in the past and still continues to sustain order and solidarity. The admirable order of Hinduism is too valuable to be rashly sacrificed before the Moloch of progress. Better is order without progress, if that were possible, than progress with disorder" Like Sir Henry Cotton, Dr. Hunter has also paid a well-deserved tribute of praise to the Hindu caste-system. "The system of caste," he says, "exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is in the first place a trade guild. It ensures the proper training of the youth in its own special craft ; it makes rules for the conduct of business and it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings. The famous manufactures of mediæval India—its muslins, silks, cloths of gold, inlaid weapons and exquisite works in precious stones—were brought to perfection under the care of the castes or trade guilds. Such guilds may still be found in full work in many parts of India." Industrial revival in India cannot be expected unless there is general spread of elementary mass education which can only be effectively introduced by making it free and compulsory.

(3) The constitution of the body who will govern the scheme. A Committee composed of public-spirited and liberal-minded non-official Indian gentlemen with a sprinkling of high officials should be formed to mature and carry into effect the scheme of elementary mass education. The official element is necessary because the people have a great faith in the influence of high Government functionaries, and also because experience has shown that the people are not disposed freely and generously to loosen their purse-strings in support of any great undertaking requiring funds unless it is in some way officially associated and patronised. The great object of this Committee will be to provide ways and means for furthering the scheme, to fix the proportion of the amounts to be raised by taxation and private donations and subscriptions, to fix the curriculum of study and select appropriate text-books, to fix the standard of qualifications of the teaching staff and the rate of remuneration, to take steps to amalgamate the existing *patshalas* and other primary mass educational institutions with the proposed improved elementary educational schools, to observe economy and simplicity in the conduct of such schools, taking special care to see that more money is spent in the work of teaching than in housing and inspecting or controlling them. The work of inspection and guidance can be done gratuitously by Members of the Committee in rotation or by selection, subject to the general control and supervision of Government Inspectors, to arrange about affording the necessary information to the public by means of leaflets or through the medium of the Press with a view to popularise the scheme, to report to Government educational authorities all the local conditions and circumstances and all other matters necessary for starting the schools, and when started, to regulate and watch their progress, suggesting improvements or altered plans to such authorities and generally to do all such things as may be deemed necessary to promote the cause of elementary mass education.

There should be Central Committees in Presidency towns with branches in the districts. It should be understood that the initiation, maintenance and control of the proposed elementary mass schools will rest with the District Boards and Municipalities within whose respective limits such schools may be established. The Committee of Management, already referred to, will be a sort of Advisory Board, who are to act in consultation with and subject to the guidance and control of such public bodies. But in any area proclaimed by the Government for the introduction of free and compulsory mass education, if the Committee in charge of the schools started therein, undertake to manage them from voluntary private gifts and not from the proceeds of taxation, then the latitude of their power of action should be enlarged if not entirely made free from official interference. Besides provision for the distribution of certain prizes annually to the meritorious students at the examinations, they should be awarded after the completion of their course of study for a period of four years in the elementary schools, small stipends tenable for a couple of years in the technical schools whether situated within the same limits as the former or elsewhere.

It should also be the duty of the Committee to help as much as in them lies in enabling the passed students from the technical schools to obtain suitable posts, or to start workshops for utilising their special knowledge.

As the principal aim of the scheme of elementary education is to improve the material condition of the country in general and of the agriculturists and artisans in particular, it is necessary to see how such improvement can be effected. Of the three principal elements for the production of wealth —land, labour and capital, India possesses a unique advantage as regards the first two. We have enough of ordinary or coolie labour. But that is not sufficient. Skilled labour is all that is urgently needed. The want is meant to be supplied by elementary technical education,

The deficiency of capital can be remedied by means of Joint Stock Companies which, if well organised and conducted on economical principles, would afford the means of turning to good account small capitals belonging to several individuals. Small capitals, which, if separately applied, would do little towards the production of wealth, are brought together by Joint Stock Companies and accomplish industrial works of the utmost importance. All the means of enriching India being at hand, how is it that she is getting poorer and poorer day by day? Why are vast areas of land lying fallow for want of cultivation? Why are local industries gradually dying out and giving place to foreign competition? Why, notwithstanding many local advantages, are the people of India beaten hollow in the contest for commercial supremacy? The reason is not far to seek. They lean too much on State support. They have a mistaken notion that everything must be done by Government for the people and nothing by the people, forgetting the golden principle that God helps those who help themselves. Then, again, the middle class gentry, though poor, labour under a narrow prejudice against agricultural or commercial pursuits, which they are in the habit of treating as menial, ignoring the important truth that no avocation, so long as it is an honest means of gaining a livelihood, is ignoble. Prejudice against sea-travel has also a considerable share in keeping the people of India ignorant of modern improvements in the arts of agricultural and manufacturing industry. The reason which the Indian handicrafts have been to a great extent supplanted by European industries conducted with the help of machinery, is that the Hindus who constitute the bulk of the Indian population, cannot overcome the popular prejudice against visiting foreign countries to obtain scientific knowledge, without which it is hopeless to carry on these pursuits successfully in competition with European skill and machinery. They ought to know that travelling by sea to foreign countries for the purpose of acquiring useful

knowledge is not against the principles of Hindu religion rightly understood and correctly interpreted. According to the authority of the Mahabharat what is beneficial to mankind is in conformity with true religion. As useful sea-voyages are beneficial to mankind, they are perfectly allowable although not sanctioned by the Dharma-Shastras. The Hindu religion as inculcated in the Upanishads and the Geeta is liberal in its provisions. In case of conflict between these original scriptures and the Dharma-Shastra which is a later compilation, the authority of the former should prevail. There is no conflict between true religion and *shanaton* (ever lasting) Hindu religion. Sea-voyage as it is beneficial to mankind is consistent with true religion and therefore consistent with Hindu religion irrespective of the provisions of the Dharma-Shastras. The educated Indians who profess to lead the masses instead of merely spending their energies in long and fine speeches would do well by teaching and enlightening them by personal examples. Let them take to agricultural and commercial pursuits, thereby clearly indicating the dignity of labour. Let them boldly undertake sea-voyage to foreign countries for the purpose of acquiring legal, medical, scientific, and technical knowledge which will stand them in good stead in various respects, opening to them many useful careers in life. Besides promoting their personal interests they should look after those of their uncultured countrymen. It should be the duty of the Elementary Education Committee in particular and of the educated Indians in general to promote the cause of such education by co-operating with the Government by means of practical suggestions and active work in starting the elementary educational schools and making them a success. By forming Joint Stock Companies they should raise funds for supplementing, if not for dispensing with the necessity of taxation, so essential for the success of the scheme. By means of self-reliance and self-dependence we should try to raise the necessary funds and it is only when our best efforts fail to do

so, that we should approach the Government for help and support.

(4) The financial means by which free education can be spread.

As to the question of ways and means Babu Saroda Charan Mitter in his presidential speech at the Albert Hall meeting observed : "It is true that Government cannot at present afford to pay a large amount of money for the education of the masses. The fate of the opium revenue is well known whether for the good of India or not ; we do not expect a large financial surplus for the next few years. But there is no reason why the people themselves—at all events the educated classes—should dream of the duty of the Government and not of their own duty to the people" We have dwelt at length under the third heading on the steps which may be taken to meet by private gifts fully or partially the cost of providing free education for the masses. It now remains to meet the objections to taxation should it be necessary to resort to it for the purpose. No doubt the diminution of the opium revenue can be made up by a strict policy of retrenchment all along the line—retrenchment of the expenses of the various spending Departments. Savings may also be effected by apportioning to the Home Government a proportionate amount of the expenses incurred for imperial purposes and not on India's account alone. Nevertheless, when we pay a number of cesses for road-making and repairing, for public works and for various other objects, a tax for the education of the masses, which is of far greater importance and utility than such objects, will, it is hoped, be ungrudgingly and even gladly agreed to be paid by the people. As justly remarked by Babu Sarada Charan Mitter, we must pay for our education. Why should we not pay a few shillings every month for the education of our brethren, for the education of those on whom we rest for bread, who are economically the foundation of Indian society ?

This view may be supported on various grounds. In the first place anything paid for the education of our peasants and artisans enabling them to carry on their callings on modern improved lines will be a reproductive investment of capital which will fetch considerable interest in the shape of cheap price for indigenous products which, by means of such financing, will be as good as imported foreign ones and sufficient in quantity to meet the growing demand of the country. The greatest present-day problem in India is how to bring capital and labour together and to create more of mutual trust among our men. If banks are founded they are more for lending than for working any art or industry and the men of light and leading and of long purse find it safer to invest their savings at a small rate of interest in the Presidency Banks or Government paper than in the improvement of arts and industries of which free and compulsory mass education is the principles means. Again, till a good portion of the money now locked up in jewellery is spent for their promotion, it is idle to expect any lasting good. The absence of machinery and of men skilled in the art of handling it, is another great drawback and unless this is remedied systematically no great impetus can be given to our arts and industries. It is only gradual training in large business concerns that can bring this about. The determination of a number of people to use only country-made goods is, indeed, a very good thing. But it is by no means the most difficult thing to attain. The most important factor, as has already been pointed out, is our capacity to supply the articles needed in quantities required, of quality that would elicit approval and at a cost which it is possible for the purchaser to pay not temporarily but permanently till we are able to drive out the foreign article by the force of a healthy, wholesome, economic rivalry. The rapid growth of the Swadeshi movement imperatively demands the removal of several obstacles such as a predilection for service in preference to an independent calling, the listlessness of the people, their want of patience,

a want of the spirit of co-operation and the greed of traders. Such listlessness and want of patience are the inevitable results of the masses having no profitable calling to pursue on account of their ignorance and poverty. Remove the former and the latter will be remedied as a matter of course. Education will improve not only their material but their moral condition as well. Such improvement will not fail to secure for them better treatment at the hands of the upper classes than is now accorded to them. They will cease to be regarded as untouchable and degraded, a by no means Inconsiderable gain in the cause of humanity and the Indian social polity. The civilisation of a country is chiefly measured by the kind and sympathetic treatment accorded to its females. Education will enable the women to mould the character of our young men whose good or bad training will make or mar the future destiny of the country. It is our duty to see that our females are educated ; we can not rise in civilisation by educating men only, leaving the females aside.

A brief *resume* of the topics dealt with may serve as a convenient reference and index to the reader. We have tried to combat the common objections to compulsory mass education, which are that the time is not yet ripe for it ; that the masses will lose rather than gain by it ; that the heterogeneous character of the Indian society would make the trial a failure ; that financial difficulty stands in the way of its successful introduction, and so forth. Every right-thinking man will at once perceive that the first objection is utterly untenable and frivolous. No noble undertaking can be ever accomplished if we are to wait indefinitely for favourable time and tide. A thing fairly begun is half done. As with individuals so with nations, good opportunities and concurrence of favourable circumstances, unless availed of as they present themselves, are often lost. We must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures. We must strike the iron while it is hot. For more reasons than one there has been

a healthy awakening of the national consciousness destined to achieve high ends.

The rigidity of the caste-system already shows signs of slackening, so any attempt to keep the several castes in water-tight compartments tending to produce habits of aloofness and unconcern in matters of common weal or woe, will generally fail. The education proposed to be imparted to the masses is calculated to break the walls of isolation and bring about national solidarity as well as individual progress. But as the masses are not intelligent enough to understand their real interests, they should be kindly compelled to receive education, though in the first instance it must necessarily be of an elementary character. There is every reason to hope that great and good results will flow from the spread of elementary education.

A committee composed of public-spirited and liberal-minded non-official Indian gentlemen with a sprinkling of high officials should be formed to mature and carry into effect the scheme of elementary mass education.

The necessary expenses for introducing free elementary education should be met from an education cess supplemented, if possible, by private donations and subscriptions. When we pay a number of cesses for road-making and repairing, for public works and various other objects, a tax for the education of the masses, which is of far greater importance and utility than such objects will, it is hoped, be ungrudgingly and even gladly agreed to be paid by the people. If it be contended that the maximum limit of taxation has been reached so that the people can ill-afford to bear any additional burden, then it is not unreasonable to expect that the Government will see its way to abolish the salt duty altogether or the tax on petroleum or any other cess on the first necessities of life which operates as a hardship upon the poor and substitute for it an education impost. We cannot better conclude this discourse than by quoting the excellent peroration of Dr. S. K. Mullick's bright and illuminating speech—a masterpiece

of eloquence and sound reasoning—delivered at the Albert Hall Meeting—whose public spirit and patriotism is widely known and greatly appreciated. "Gentlemen, these are days when the stern realities of life are sterner than ever, the rough and-tumble existences harder to bear, the intellectual race is a Derby of momentous and perilous consequences. Other nations gifted not by heredity, for there are indeed none so fortunate as the Indians, are rushing past us to the winning post. India crest-fallen, morose, helpless lags behind. Vitalise her masses and she will be again a world-wide power, educate her children and she will once more carry the torch of light as she did of yore. When all the world was young she it was who taught a language to its lisping tongue. Give her the modern weapons and she will yet conquer the world not by marching through rapine and plunder but by the all-conquering forces of her intellectual genius, spreading love, faith and charity around her."

THE FOUNDATION OF VIRTUE.

THE source or basis of all morality rests on a belief in (*a*) the existence of God, (*b*) the immortality of the soul (the future state) and (*c*) the freedom of will.

According to Descartes, the father of modern philosophy, in order to know God as far as our nature admits, we have only to enquire respecting any attribute whether it possesses an element of perfection or of imperfection and to admit or reject it accordingly. This rule excludes from His nature all such mental conditions as doubt, inconstancy, sadness. And that our ideas of material things are not to be applied to Him appears from this, that they are totally foreign to an intellectual nature and represent properties which could be combined with such a nature only by composition ; and since composition is in itself an evidence of dependence and as dependence is a mark of defect, God cannot be composed of two natures ; but if there be in the world bodies or minds that are not perfect, they must depend upon His power so as to be unable without Him to subsist for an instant. Thus Descartes obtains his second certainty, the existence of God. This like the first (the consciousness of self as the subject of thought) he regards as immediately given or self-evident without going beyond for proof or verification, a grade of certainty which can go no further.

According to Hamilton, in postulating a self-sufficient cause, infinite in power and eternal in duration, we postulate more than is logically sufficient to account for known existence. If, therefore, there be any warrant for this affirmation, it cannot be obtained by a logical process. It cannot be logically competent to reason from finite existence to infinite—from restricted existence to that which is self-sufficient. To postulate a cause simply adequate to produce known existence satisfies the immediate claim of intelligence.

Accordingly the truth of the conclusion may be accepted merely as implying conformity to laws of thought though there be no means at command for verifying the supposition as to the existence of such a cause. The conclusion is thus of only a general nature such as this ; in the cause there must be at least sufficient power to produce the effect. Logical processes are insufficient for reaching this high truth. Thus far Comte is correct in speaking of inaccessible heights, but the mind is not restricted merely to observation and logic for the discovery of truth. There is in the nature of reason itself provision for the recognition of higher truth.

The reality of the Divine existence is a truth so plain that it needs no proof, as it is a truth so high that it admits of none. It is not the clearness of the idea for the conception of God which proves His existence, for it is not a conception so clear to the mind of all men as it was to Descarte, but often a conception rather vague, because not analytically examinable. But there is certainty of belief in the Divine existence supported by reference to finite existence thereby explained. This is an intuitional belief, while that of infinite regress of finite causes is a logical belief. The former is a belief so fundamental to human life that men accept and apply it without question. On the admission that the belief is natural to the human mind, it is possible to find a general harmony of ascertained facts. It is the common original idea of a great Ruler which is the explanation of the common features of belief and religious practice throughout the world. In harmony with this view, it is obvious that the idea of God becomes comprehensive and self-consistent in all its features as people advance in intellectual activity. The belief in the Divine existence which is first accepted as a determining force in practical life is afterwards accepted as the only adequate solution of the problem of finite existence. It is thus that the natural belief in the existence of God comes to have associated with it a full, clearer conception of the nature of the Supreme Being. In this way also the conception

receives its true scientific place and application: From these considerations it appears that the legitimate use of a discursive process is not in an attempt to reach the fact of Divine existence as a logical conclusion, but in testing the harmony between the belief and the facts of existence. This latter use of the reasoning process is in accordance with the scientific methods followed in all departments of investigation. When the mind makes enquiry as to the existence of a being self-sufficient and supreme, it is certainly more in accordance with the limits of logical proof that it should advance from belief to confirmatory evidence than that it should attempt to pass by its own strength from restricted existence to the transcendent grandeur of the Infinite Being.

Belief in the Divine existence is confirmed as the range of discovery extends our knowledge of the universe. With this belief given, the argument from design rises to a conspicuous place as an argument confirmatory. The argument from design is admirable as an inference from the nature of the effect to the nature of the cause, but it presupposes the truth that there is a first cause.

The beautiful and harmonious design manifest in the universe unmistakably points to an intelligent Designer; and as from our knowledge of matter which consists only of its properties, such as length, breadth, thickness, elasticity, cohesion, etc., we cannot by process of combination or division, evolve thought or intelligence, it is a highly gratuitous assertion that the universe is the result of a fortuitous concourse of atoms, :that there has been cosmos out of chaos. The fact that the Designer is not cognisable to the senses does not affect our knowledge of Him. The mind as well as God is invisible; yet we know what our mind is, *i.e.*, we know the mind by its faculties, such as perception, imagination memory, attention, etc. Similarly we know God by His attributes, such as omniscience, omnipresence, infinite justice, mercy, etc.

According to Addison, God has in Him all the perfection

of a spiritual nature. And since we have no notion of any kind of spiritual perfection but what we discover in our own souls, we join infinitude to each kind of these perfections, and what is a faculty in a human soul becomes an attribute in God. We exist in place and time ; the Divine Being fills the immensity of space with His presence and inhabits eternity. We are possessed of a little power and little knowledge, the Divine Being is omnipotent and omniscient. In short, by adding infinitude to any kind of perfection we enjoy, and by joining all these different kinds of perfection in one being, we form our idea of the Great Sovereign of Nature.

Locke holds similar views. In his opinion, the complex ideas we have both of God and separate spirits are made up of the simple ideas we receive from reflection, i.e., having, from what we experience in ourselves, got the ideas of existence and duration, of knowledge and power, of pleasure and happiness, and of several other qualities and powers which it is better to have than to be without. When we frame an idea the most suitable we can to the supreme Being, we enlarge every one of these with our own idea of infinity ; and so putting them together make our complex idea of God. "Belief in an infinite being," says Mansal in his Philosophy of the conditioned, "involves such knowledge of his nature as to distinguish his existence from all other existence. Belief, is the assent of the mind to a truth, while the reality so acknowledged is not matter of observation." Thus, facts which we accept on the testimony of others' propositions to which we assent without being able to complete their verification, such a transcendent fact as the Divine existence, are matters of faith. But faith is the exercise of an intelligent nature, apart from which it is impossible. Assent cannot be given except on condition of an apprehension of truth sufficient to distinguish it from all other known truth. Since then a belief in the Divine existence belongs to us, this implies some knowledge of the divine Nature.

As observed by Professor Calderwood, belief in the Divine existence harmonises with the religious instinct of our nature, which is the source of that widespread religious life which appears in the world under a multitude of forms. When subjected to analytical investigation, it is distinctly marked by two prominent features, first, the sense of dependence on higher power which is the spontaneous experience of a nature sensible of its inherent weakness, and subjection to governing forces in the universe ; and second, reverence of feeling for the perfection belonging to the Absolute Being.

These two are the essential elements of the religious instinct swayed by the fundamental belief in the Divine existence. The harmony of faith with such feeling is complete. Only in such faith can a harmony be found.

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL OR THE FUTURE EXISTENCE.

In verse 23, chapter II of the Bhagavat Geeta, the nature of the soul is thus described . Weapon does not cut it ; fire does not burn it ; water does not dissolve it. and wind does not dry it up.

Both the Vedas and the Institutes of Manu affirm that the soul is an emanation from the all-pervading intellect and that it is necessarily destined to be reabsorbed. They consider it to be without form, and visible nature with all its beauties and harmonies is only the shadow God. The problem of the immortality of the soul, which is the basis of morality, mainly depends for its solution on a consideration of, first, the nature of the soul itself, second, the nature of the supreme Being. Our belief in a future existence is deducible from two facts, first, the soul's infinite capacity of perfection, second, the disparity of worldly conditions—the general suffering of the virtuous and the prosperity of the

vicious. Addison puts the first fact very eloquently and logically when he says :—

'Would an infinitely wise being make such glorious creatures (men) for so mean a purpose? Can He delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such short-lived reasonable beings? Would He give us talents that are not to be exerted, capacities that are never to be gratified? How can we find that wisdom that shines through all His works in the formation of man without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next and believing that the several generations of rational creatures which rise up and disappear in such quick succession are only to receive their rudiments of existence here and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate where they may spread and flourish to all eternity?" Again, consistently with the justice and mercy of God the belief in a future state irresistibly forces itself upon our mind as without such state, virtue would remain unrewarded and vice unpunished considering the short span of our earthly existence. In a future existence alone can, the doubt of Providence's sway created by daily observation that 'Virtue vice obeys', be cleared up by a nice and just adjustment of their unfair disparities of condition here. Self-renunciation or self-denial would lose much of its motive force in the eyes of *yogis* and *sannyasis*, if the prospect of the next world were not held up to their view. Will not society be utterly disorganised and demoralised, if the check of ultimate punishment in itself insufficient to restrain vicious courses of life is removed? It is easy to imagine that frail and weak as men are, they will run headlong into all sorts of dissipation and corruption if the remote consequences of their deeds are lost sight of.

THE FREEDOM OF WILL.

It is needless to expatiate on this subject as the freedom of will has been clearly and satisfactorily established and vindicated by modern philosophy. Self-determination and

motive determination are the respective points between the rival theories of liberty and necessity. Motive is impulse to an act ; Will is power of determining whether to act or not to act and in the event of acting whether to act in this or that way. Motives do so far determine the will as to fix the direction and form of the volition ; this however, establishes nothing as to their power or force to control the will, though it discovers a measure of exercise on their part independently of will. Freedom of will, as known in consciousness, is control over the whole nature by means of the control we have over the understanding. The understanding must be able to compare motives with some standard of judgment or rule of conduct—must be able to go forward in thought and forecast the form and tendencies of different actions, in order that there may be any real choice or self-determination in acts. The hypothesis of free action as the law of exercise for the will itself, is the only one which harmonises with the facts of consciousness. According to Dr. Martineau, either free will is a fact or moral judgment a delusion. We could never condemn one turn of act or thought, did we not believe the agent to have command of another, and just in proportion as we perceive in his temperament or education or circumstances the certain preponderance of particular suggestions and the bare approach to an inner necessity, do we criticise him rather as a natural object than as a responsible being and deal with his aberrations as maladies instead of sins. The ordinary rule, which in awarding penalties for wrong, takes into consideration the presence or absence of violent temptation, assumes a personal power of resistance never wholly crushed but sometimes severely strained. Were we in our moral problem as much at the mercy of the laws of association as we are in our efforts to remember what we have forgotten or to invent what is wanting in a design, we ought surely to look on the guilty will with the same neutrality as on the failing memory or unfertile imagination. Moral judgment

then postulates moral freedom ; and by this we mean, not the absence of foreign constraint, but the presence of personal power of preference in relation to the inner suggestions and springs of action that present their claims. Every verdict implies preference ; every preference comparison ; every comparison things compared and grounds of resemblance and difference between them. It appears thus that Necessitarianism has difficulty in accounting for the consciousness of moral responsibility and for the justice of personal liability to punishment. If a man cannot help what he does, it cannot be just that he should be punished for what he cannot help. A philosophy of the moral sentiment including self-approbation and self-condemnation, shame and remorse, is peculiarly difficult under the Necessitarian hypothesis.

ETERNAL JUSTICE OF GOD.

THIS is proposed to be proved by showing that sin, suffering, and death are not incompatible with the Justice of God. Sin is not God's work. Moral order may exist with moral disorder. The very notion of moral evil implies a moral good which it contravenes, and a moral law by which it is condemned. It can never be thought as other than something grafted on nature by which nature is perverted and depraved. It is not natural but unnatural ; not primary and original, but secondary and derivative ; not the law, but the violation of the law.

Free will needs no vindication, for it is the primary and indispensable condition of moral agency. Without it there might be a certain animal goodness but there could be no true virtue. A virtuous being is one which chooses of its own accord to do what is right. The notion of a moral creature being governed and guided without the concurrence and approval of its own will is a contradiction. If God desired to have moral creatures in His universe, He could only have them by endowing them with free will which is the power to accept or reject His own will. Virtue is self-rewarding and vice is self-punishing. Virtue tends of its very nature to honour and life, vice to dishonour and death. Virtue may be followed by no external advantages or may involve the possessor of it in suffering ; but infallibly it ennobles and enriches, elevates and purifies the soul itself and thus gradually and increasingly imparts a peace above all earthly dignities. Vice may outwardly prosper and meet only with honour from men but it cannot be said to be passing wholly unpunished so long as it weakens, poisons and corrupts the spiritual constitution. No inductive truth can be easier to establish or is better-established than that righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin lowers, and destroys it.

The vicious affections which torment and debase isolated men, equally disturb and degrade a tribe or nation. The virtuous affections which diffuse peace and happiness in a single heart, equally spread harmony and prosperity through the largest community. Thus the general conditions of social life are that God loves virtue and hates vice. As to suffering it may be generally remarked that it is a blessing in disguise. "Painful sensations," says Professor LeConte, "are only watchful vedettes upon the outposts of our organism to warn us of approaching danger. Without these the citadel of our life would be quickly surprised and taken." It appears thus that pain is not evil but good and justifies both itself and its author. The character of pain itself is such as to indicate that its author must be a benevolent being who does not afflict for his own pleasure but for his creature's profit.

Were all liability to bodily suffering taken away, this world would teem with crimes terminating in the most excruciating mental agony. Man's exposure to bodily pain saves him from much torture of mind and from vice which would render this world more offensive to pure spirits than the most infected lazarus-house is to the man of sensitive organs and feelings. Pain is a stimulus to exertion, and it is only through exertion that the faculties are disciplined and developed. Every appetite originates in the experience of a want, and the experience of a want is a pain; but what would the animals be without their appetites and the activities to which they give rise? Would they be the magnificent and beautiful creatures as many of them are? If the hare had no fear, would it be as swift as it is? If the lion had no hunger, would it be as strong as it is? If man had nothing with which to struggle, would he be as enterprising, as ingenious, as variously skilled and educated as he is? Pain tends to the perfection of animals. The perfecting power of suffering is seen in its highest form not in the brute but in man, not in its effects upon the body but in its

influence on the mind. It is of incalculable use in correcting and disciplining the spirit. It serves to soften the hardness of heart, to subdue the proud, to produce fortitude and patience, to expand the sympathies, to exercise the religious affections, to refine, strengthen and elevate the entire disposition. To come out pure gold, the character must pass through the furnace of affliction. As to death it is a condition of the prolificness of nature, the multiplicity of species, the succession of generations, the co-existence of the young and the old, and these things, it cannot reasonably be doubted, add immensely to the sum of animal happiness. If we can have no notion of the purpose of a thing, we cannot judge whether it is fulfilling it well or ill. The denial of the possibility of knowing the ends of things is inconsistent with the assertion that things might have been constituted and arranged in a happier or more advantageous manuer. The prevalence of accidents cannot, as some may be tempted to imagine, be accidental. It is one of the most marked characteristics of the state of the world in which our lot is cast. It is, in fact, the grand means which the Governor of the world employs for the accomplishment of His specific purposes and by which His providence is rendered a particular providence reaching to the most minute incidents embracing all events and every event. It is the special instrument employed by Him to keep man dependent and make him feel his dependence.

The following passage in Professor M' Cosh's work on Divine Government entirely supports our views. "We are now in circumstances to discover the advantages arising from the mixture of uniformity and uncertainty in the operations of nature. Both serve most important ends in the Government of God. The one renders nature steady and stable, the other active and accommodating. The wisdom of God is seen alike in what He hath fixed and in what He hath left free. The regularity when it is observed by man is the means of his attaining knowledge ; while the events which

we call accidental enable God to turn the projects of mankind as He pleases towards the fulfilment of His own will and mysterious end. Without the uniformity, man would be absolutely helpless ; without the contingencies he would become proud and disdainful. If the progressions of nature induce us to cherish trust and confidence, its digressions constrain us to entertain a sense of dependence. In the one, we see how all is arranged to suit our nature ; and in the other we discover that we are as dependent on God as if nothing had been fixed and determined, and so the one invites us to praise, and the other to prayer." In confirmation of and compliance with such views, Dr. Flint graphically describes the utterly dependent condition of man which should teach him humility and fervent faith in God which are the natural and normal results of a truly religious life. Everything, he says, counteracts or balances or assists something else, and thus all things proclaim their common dependence on one original. Co-ordinate things must all be derivative and secondary and all things in nature are co-ordinate parts of a stupendous system. Each one of us knows, for example, that a few years ago he was not and that in a few years hence the place which knows him now will know him no more ; and each one of us has been taught by the failure of his plans and the disappointment of his hopes, and the vanity of his efforts, that there are stronger forces and more important interests in the world than his own and that he is in the grasp of a power which he cannot resist—which besets him behind and before and hems him on all sides ; when we extend our views we perceive that this is as true of others as of ourselves, and that it is true even in a measure, of all finite things. No man lives or dies to himself ; no object moves and acts absolutely from and for itself alone. This reveals a single all-originating, all-pervading, all-sustaining principle. These manifold, mutually dependent existences imply one independent existence. The limitations assigned to all individual persons and things

point to a Being which limits them all. Particular causes, and secondary movements lead back to a cause of causes, a first mover, itself immovable, yet making all things else move.

Besides the grounds stated above for bearing the ills of life with patience and fortitude, there are two principal ones, *viz.*, the immortality of the soul and future existence. Accordingly to the Bhagavat Geeta, the soul cannot be pierced by weapons, burnt by fire, dissolved by water or dried up by air. The imperishability of the soul being established, its future existence after its separation from the body is a matter of necessary inference. The necessity of a future life is, again, made manifest from the disparities of worldly conditions; that is to say, virtue is not at least adequately rewarded nor vice sufficiently punished here. The adjustment of such differences and the meting out of even-handed justice according to men's *karmas* in this world, imperatively demand a world to come. Addison has given very cogent reason for belief in a future existence: can we believe, he says, a thinking being that is in a perpetual progress of improvement and travelling on from perfection to perfection, after having just looked abroad into the works of its Creator, made a few discoveries of His infinite goodness, wisdom and power, must perish at its first setting out and at the very beginning of its enquiries? It can never have taken in its full measure of knowledge, has not time to subdue its passions, establish its soul in virtue and come up to the perfection of nature before it is hurried off the stage. Would an infinitely wise Being make such glorious creatures for so mean a purpose? Can He delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such short-lived reasonable beings? Would He give us talents that are not to be exerted? Capacities that are never to be gratified? How can we find that wisdom that shines through all His works in the formation of man, without looking on this world as a nursery for the next and believing that the several

generations of rational creatures which rise up and disappear in such quick succession are only to receive their rudiments of existence here and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate where they may spread and flourish to all eternity? Eastern philosophy and theology also come to the same conclusion. Both the Vedas and the Institutes of Manu affirm that the soul is an emanation from the all-pervading intellect and that it is necessarily destined to be reabsorbed. They consider it without form and that visible Nature with all its beauties and harmonies is only the shadow of God.

HOW TO ESTABLISH A HAPPY RELATION BETWEEN THE RULERS AND THE RULED IN INDIA.

SUCH a happy relation is dependant upon the following conditions :—

1. Our sincere belief that the policy underlying the British Government of India is benevolent and beneficent.
2. Our realisation of the beneficial results from the pursuit of such policy.
3. Our hearty and active co-operation with the Government in its earnest efforts to promote the best interests of India.
4. The abandonment on the part of Anglo-Indians, both official and non-official, of a haughty and overbearing demeanour towards the Indians and their treatment of the educated Indians on terms of perfect equality.
5. Our realisation of the helpless and miserable condition we will be placed in, if British protection is suddenly withdrawn from us.—*why, hence we must our own legs to stand?*
6. Religious influence.
1. We have the privilege of living under a benign, benevolent and Christian Government whose avowed policy is to govern India for India's welfare. The Queen's Proclamation, the Magna Charta of our rights and privileges, has, in unmistakable and unambiguous language, declared all subjects of the British Sovereign, without distinction of creed, caste or colour, entitled to share in the service of the State, the duties of which they may be deemed qualified to discharge by reason of their education and probity. Theoretically no ban of disqualification has been pronounced against the people of India for the administration of their own country. If in the practical application of the theory of good government, the claims of the children of the soil

are often ignored or overlooked, it is a matter of pure accident depending upon the *personnel* of the Governing Agency in India for the time being. Lord Ripon, who was a liberal-minded and sympathetic Ruler, accorded to us the boon of Local Self-Government which has ripened into the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, under the operation of the Reform Scheme. Other Governors may not be so magnanimous and so their administration may be directed towards curtailment and diminution of the privileges granted by their noble predecessors.

But this circumstance of the shifting policy of the Indian Government according to its personal character does not affect the fundamental principle of good government which the British Parliament with the consent of the Sovereign has declared for India. Such being the case, we have no reason to lose heart in our exertions for reform of the administration and for obtaining a larger share in its participation which will be best brought about, not by mere vociferous and virulent agitation, but by improvement in our social, moral and economic conditions which is a *sine qua non* of our political advancement. The Government is too powerful and too well-grounded in firm and righteous principles to be cowed down into granting concessions dictated by the revolutionary agitator. Allegiance to the Crown and deservingness on the part of the Indian people are the only conditions on which the Government will always be prepared to satisfy their legitimate aspirations. If we can thoroughly grasp this great secret underlying the Government of India, there will be no friction but a happy and harmonious relation between the Rulers and the Ruled.

2. and 3. The same happy consummation will result from our bearing in mind the manifold blessings of English rule of India. The salient features of such blessings may be briefly enumerated as follows :—

1. Vast tracts of land, formerly the abode of wild

animals, have been cleared of jungle and made available for purposes of either cultivation or habitation. The means and facilities of communication by land or water have been much improved. By means of better roads, bridges, railway openings, steam navigation, telegraph, cheap postage, etc., distance has been annihilated, time economised, and great impetus imparted to trade and commerce. The suppression of Thagi has rendered travel safe.

2. The introduction of English education into the country has effected a marvellous improvement in the mental and moral capabilities of the higher ranks of Indian society, rendering them fit for association with Government. The liberty of the press has secured that healthy tone of public opinion, so necessary to good government and impartial dispensation of justice.

3. The courts and tribunals are generally free from corruption and presided over by Judges and Magistrates who are generally competent, inspiring confidence in their decisions, tending to the security of life and property.

4. The boon of Local Self-Government, together with the introduction of the elective principle into the constitution of the Legislative Councils and the provision of a non-official majority in such Councils in the Provinces with power to ask supplementary questions and to recast the Budget according to the national needs, has gone a great way towards the attainment of self-government in the Empire by educating and familiarising the people with the details of administration.

5. Some of the pernicious social practices of the country have been put down by law, thereby affording relief to suffering humanity and averting the evils of blind superstition.

6. The status of the zemindars has been greatly improved by making them proprietors of the land, thereby holding out to them a great inducement to improve the capabilities of the soil so as to turn a bleak rock into a garden. At the same time the Government having reserved

to itself power to provide for the protection of under-tenants and raiyats, the rights of the latter have been safeguarded by generally well-considered laws.

7. The military prowess of the Government, maintaining a standing Army and Navy trained in the modern art of war, has effectually provided against foreign invasion and internal disorder.

Sir William Hunter draws the following contrast between India past and present :—"I have often amused myself during my solitary peregrinations by imagining what a Hindu of the last century, (18th) would think of the present state of his country, if he could revisit the earth. I have supposed that his first surprise at the outward physical changes had subsided—that he had got accustomed to the fact that thousands of square miles of jungle, which in his time were inhabited by wild beasts, have been turned into fertile crop lands ; that fever-smitten swamps have been covered with healthy well-drained cities ; that the mountain walls, which shut off the interior of India from the seaports, have been pierced by roads and scaled by railways ; that the great rivers, which formed the barriers between provinces and desolated the country with floods have now been controlled to the uses of man, spanned by bridges and tapped by canals. But what would strike him as more surprising than these outward changes is the security of the people. In provinces where every man from the prince to the peasant a hundred years ago went armed, he would look round in vain for a matchlock or a sword. He would find the multitudinous Native States in India which he remembered in jealous isolation broken only by merciless wars, now trading quietly with each other, bound together by railways and roads, by the post and the telegraph. He would find moreover much that was new as well as much that was changed. He would see the country dotted with imposing edifices in a strange foreign architecture of which he could not guess the uses. He would ask what wealthy prince had reared for

himself that conspicuous palace? He would be answered that the building was no pleasure-house for the rich but a hospital for the poor. He would enquire in honour of what new deity is this splendid shrine? He would be told that it was no new temple to the gods but a school for the people. Instead of bristling fortresses he would see courts of justice; in place of a Mohamedan general in charge of each district, he would find an English magistrate; instead of a swarming soldiery, he would discover a police."

With these outward signs of civilisation the march of intellect and thought is making steady progress. There is a growing unanimity of opinion throughout India based on the increased solidarity of Indian thought and the spread of English education. The people of India cannot but act and think as that section of the community which monopolises the knowledge of politics and administration may instruct them. The educated classes are the voice and the brain of the country. The widespread and growing progress of English education in India, the consequent dissemination of enlightened views among all classes of society, the successful administration of the self-governing institutions, the highly intelligent and able part taken by the elected non-official members of the old Councils, the high literary merit of the educated Indians as authors and editors of newspapers and periodicals, the great reputation they have won as high Government functionaries and administrators in Native States and, above all, the great ability with which the grand old man of India acquitted himself in the British House of Commons, all these while they clearly demonstrate the glorious achievements of England's noble mission in India, go to show that Lord Morley's reform scheme has not been perfected a day earlier. As we have very great reasons to be grateful to the Government for what it has already done for us, it would be the height of ingratitude to impute to it the intention of diminishing or depriving us of our rights and privileges in connection with the enlarged Councils. As

the Regulations under the Indian Councils Act are tentative in their nature, the existence of any defects in them is no ground for our standing aloof from the proposed Council government ; but we would prove our political wisdom by thankfully accepting the position of trust and responsibility offered to us, thereby not only removing the defects in the Regulations by throwing the light of experience obtained in the Councils, but establishing our claims to yet higher political rights and a cordial relation between the Rulers and the Ruled.

4. The greatest obstacle in the way of establishing a happy relation between the Rulers and the Ruled is the overbearing manner displayed by the Anglo-Indians, both official and non-official, towards the people of India. There have been numerous cases showing how perversely some District Officers were bent upon ruining the fortune and reputation of several rajahs and noblemen whose only fault was to incur their displeasure by the refusal of a loan, say, of an elephant or a carriage. Europeans, official and non-official, with honorable exceptions, seem to treat lightly Indian life and reputation. The Dum-Dum case, the Guntacul case, the Fuller case, the Chupra case, the Barrackpore case and several other cases disclose disastrous miscarriage of justice detrimental to British prestige, being the outcome of that contempt for the natives of India which is unhappily still characteristic of many ignorant and prejudiced Europeans and of race-hatred which is the Government's first consideration to stamp out. Humane and sympathetic deportment, cool temper and discreet conduct which were the marked characteristics of the servants of the Company are often not to be met with in the officers of the Crown. The latter seem to prefer pleasure and luxury, wasteful extravagance, pomp and grandeur to simplicity of manners and becoming economy which distinguished the former. Magnanimity and courtesy, parental affection and sympathy manifested in their dealings with the Indians were the fine

traits of the one, pusillanimity and hauteur, anti-native feeling and jealousy are the faults of the other class of officials. A European Magistrate would not now consider it as discourteous to dismiss even a Maharajah desirous to have an interview with the stereotyped words *fursut nahi hai* or not at home. It may be supposed that the official likes to keep himself aloof from Indian society with a view to avoid the suspicion of unduly favouring, out of intimacy, any particular individual. Such, however, does not appear to be his motive. He does not scruple to attend entertainments given in his district by wealthy Indians. The Indian heart is naturally kind, but the kindness becomes warmer when the object of it is a member of the dominant class. It is not always, because we expect any return from him, but it is a peculiar feeling with us to be anxious to stand well with a race to whom we owe so many obligations as a fallen and subject people. If those obligations had been unmixed with quite as great wrongs, it is our fear that Englishmen might have become objects of our idolatry, so enthusiastic is our regard for all who really mean to confer or have conferred upon us any great benefits. But we regret to observe that our good feelings towards Englishmen in India are not, as a rule, reciprocated. (Unlike Anglo-Indians of past times their present generation appears to be people of a different nationality. Without putting forward our views, according to the opinion of a certain section of the public in England, their countrymen in India change their skin with their climate and lose their national sobriety when they put their foot in India, and some of them patted by tuft-hunters regard themselves as demi-gods whose treatment of those whom they are gracious enough to call "niggers" is to be marked with the overbearing haughtiness of the superior person. Even in trifling matters Anglo-Indians, mostly officials, want the tact to prevent irritation and insult to the Indians.) The shoe question, the salaaming question, the native dress question all tend to show to what absurd lengths Anglo-

Indian officials can go in the exercise of their arbitrary powers unchecked by powerful and respected public opinion and the presence of an independent element in the constitution of the Government. It is not too much to say that many Anglo-Indians do as much as in them lies to make the Government unpopular. The Government might do much to effect an improvement. Too often, even in the worst cases, it is content with an empty censure. More than that is required. If every public servant were made to feel that his prospects of professional advancement would be seriously retarded or even jeopardised by a too free indulgence in the luxury of an offensive and overbearing manner, a great improvement would rapidly take place. No people can like subjection to a foreign power and it is true policy and wisdom for the British Government to make the yoke as light and easy as possible. Too many of the European public servants in India seem unable to understand that they may be firm and strong without being insolent and rude. A great part of the difficulties of the Government would be removed if every Indian gentleman were treated in India as he is always treated in England.

On this subject the remarks of the representative of the *Daily News* are worthy of notice :—

"This is the real difficulty in India," he says, "the real obstacle to reconciliation, the real empire-destroyer. If India is ever lost to Great Britain, our fathers used to say, it will be lost on the floor of the House of Commons. Nonsense. If (or when) India is lost it will be lost by Anglo-India—in the Council Chamber and the Secretariats ; in the District Courts and the Municipalities ; in the colleges, the offices, the bazaars, the bungalows ; in the mines and the jute mills ; on the railways and on the gardens. Not because the Briton in India is less just or less humane than he once was, but because he does not know and cannot understand the people among whom he lives and for whose welfare he has made himself responsible. In point of fact he insults his clerk

and kicks his bearer more seldom than he formerly did. He is learning as mine-manager or tea-planter that fair conditions of labour are not less profitable than philanthropic, and is even grown accustomed to the native trade union. But whereas he had no difficulty in understanding the former relation of master and serf, he does not understand, he cannot envisage, the new relation of employer and employee; of Englishman and Indian as partners in business and colleagues in the public service. His failure to realise what is happening is the element of tragedy in the Imperial drama."

Anglo-Indians being equally, if not more, interested with the Indians in the preservation of British rule in India would act wisely by adapting themselves to the new environments and altered conditions in India and by making common cause with their loyal and law-abiding fellow Indian subjects in putting down anarchism and sedition. Instead of estranging and embittering their feeling by an attitude of aloofness and contempt, they should grapple them with hooks of steel by amity and friendliness, thereby bringing about a happy relation between the Rulers and the Ruled.

5. The attitude of Indian gentlemen towards British rule may be described as one of acquiescence rather than admiration. Every intelligent Hindu or Mussalman recognises the fact that if the British power were suddenly withdrawn, the various races in India are in no condition to take up the reins of Government, and that the only alternative to anarchy and interneceine and destructive war would be the arrival of some other European power to keep the peace. At the same time the whole aim of British policy in India should be to prepare and fit the people of India for self-government, to lift India to the position of a series of self-governing colonies like the colonies of Australia and Canada. If England should persevere in that policy and achieve it, she will have rendered a service to humanity unparalleled in the annals of mankind. In this task Englishmen shall have the hearty co-operation of the

best part of India, and as English education spreads in India and India is better understood in England, there is no reason why if Englishmen avoid the error of precipitate change on the one hand and of bureaucratic obstinacy on the other, they should not in the fulness of time succeed. Fortunately the formation of enlarged Legislative Councils and the large share allowed to the Indians in the reformed administration are expected to be a sure stepping-stone to self-government in the Empire which is their ultimate aim. The reform scheme is intended to be the best remedy for removing the evils of unrest and discontent in India. The Indians would be acting foolishly and unpatriotically if they neglect to profit by the valuable concessions by reason of certain defects in the regulations of which the Government make no secret and which it is sure to remove on suggestions in the light of experience in the Councils. The Indians would be behaving like petulant and peevish children if they refuse to join the Councils because they do not find them to their entire liking. Hearty and loyal co-operation with the Government and not standing aloof from it in sullen discontent, is the best means of cementing a happy union between the Rulers and the Ruled and promoting our gradual but sure political advancement. Work and not adverse criticism is the duty of those who are designed to take part in the enlarged Councils. If we wait to be associated with them until by our protests and criticisms the election rules are made as flawless as we would have them, we would be acting like one who desirous of drinking rain-water refuses to drink any other except such as descends from the clouds. So the policy of self-denying ordinance advocated in some quarters should be abandoned for one of active participation in the existing machinery of administration, rude and imperfect though it be, if we are to preserve the vitality and vigour of our political life.

6. The most potent factor for producing a happy relation between the Rulers and the Ruled is religious influence.

Apart from minor differences in the observance of rituals, and modes of worship, all true religions recognise the cardinal principle of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. The high ethical precepts of Christ find their counterpart in Buddhism. Buddha taught to overcome anger by love, evil by good, the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth. It is not necessary therefore that in order to win the favour and affection of a Christian Government its non-Christian subjects should be converts to Christianity. As remarked by Swami Vivekananda in his address at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, "The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist nor a Hindu or Buddhist to become a Christian. But each must assimilate the others and preserve his individuality and grow according to the law of his growth. If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world, it is this. It has proved to the world that holiness, purity and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any Church in the world and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character." "In the face of this evidence," the Swami emphatically asserted, "if anybody dreams of the exclusive survival of his faith and the destruction of that of others, I pity him from the bottom of my heart and point out to him that upon the banner of every religion, would soon be written, in spite of his resistance, 'Help and not Fight,' 'Assimilation and not Destruction,' 'Harmony and Peace and not Dissensions.'"

Mr. J. Page Hopps some time ago addressing the members of the Brahma Somaj and others at the Essex Hall, London, spoke on the subject of Indian nationality. He does not disguise his chagrin at the oft-repeated saying of the Jingo school which found expression from Lord Salisbury many years ago that Great Britain won India by the sword and that by the sword it must be kept. Mr. Hopps calls it an absolutely un-English utterance and one falsifying everyone of the cherished English traditions.

He at the same time cannot agree with those Christian Missionaries who, while expressing all sympathy with Indian aspirations, offer to Indian people the Christian religion as their only hope of political advancement. Either Christianity or else no effective Nationality—that is the doctrine of most Christian Missionaries. Mr. Hopps, however, is more clear-visioned and he recognises with Tennyson that "God is able to fulfil Himself in many ways." He therefore asks, " If England has its Christ, has not India its Buddha, his kinsman and counterpart whose life and teachings are the replica of his ?" The lecturer argues that what India needs is the following up of its sense of the universality of the divine inspiration and guidance, or, in other words, a religion which recognises the Universal Brotherhood. We think there cannot be any difference of opinion on this point. According to Mrs. Anne Besant religion is the only force which can effectually bind the races of India together. Nationality connotes unity and unity can only come through a common religious sentiment. Religious differences notwithstanding, several communities may be welded into a nation provided they base their spirit of nationalism upon the principle of brotherhood which is the essence of all religions. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Christianity all teach that we should love each other as children of one God. True work should rest on love of man and fear of God and not on jealousy, strife and hatred. If we can act in this spirit there will be easily established a happy relation between the Rulers and the Ruled.

THE INFLUENCE OF RHETORIC AND POETRY UPON LITERATURE.

THE subject may be divided under the following heads :—

- I. The Nature and Functions of Rhetoric.
2. Its Influence upon Literature.
3. The Nature and Functions of Poetry.
4. Its Influence upon Literature.

I. Rhetoric is an impassioned oratorical style of expression proportioned to the gravity of thought and the importance and dignity of the subject dwelt upon. The nature of every subject prompts or calls forth the proper mode of expression. If it be a matter of epistolary correspondence or commercial or official business, simplicity and brevity rather than ornamental colouring or periphrastic style would be preferred. If it relates to dry details of information or the account of an ordinary occurrence or transaction, it had better be treated in a simple narrative form. To attempt rhetoric in such cases would be mere affectation and contrary to our idea of the fitness of things. Misplaced oratory far from embellishing any description would tend to render it flat and dull, if not ridiculous. But if fervid emotions or grand and majestic sceneries of nature be the subject, the expressions called forth by them would be naturally lofty and impassioned. To express such stirring and thrilling sensations in a dry and prosaic manner would mar the beauty of conception and make an inadequate and imperfect impression. Rhetoric stimulates our feelings and attracts our attention. As the permanence and vividness of our impressions depend upon the attractiveness of delineation, it is only writings of graphic description and artistic excellence that find a place in history and are remembered. The brilliant speeches of Demosthenes and

Cicero have been transmitted to our own times as unique models of perfect eloquence and rhetoric. The melodious periods and splendid ornate style of Milton in his *Areopagitica* and other prose works powerfully vindicating the political and religious freedom of England still ring in our ears. The forcible and fiery eloquence of Edmund Burke, his rational and philosophical thought, his righteous indignation against the arbitrary measures of English ministers, the unjust proceedings of the monopolists in India and the highly oppressive conduct of the French people during the Revolution deserve to be remembered and recorded in golden characters. It is a historical fact that the parliamentary speeches of Sheridan which are master-pieces of eloquence made his audience spell-bound and moved them to ecstasy. The sublime and lofty thoughts of Keshab Chunder Sen, his wonderful mastery over the English language, the sincerity and courage of his convictions, his religious fervour, the imperturbability of his cool and collected temperament, and his beaming intelligence shining though his lustrous eyes, all effectively brought to bear upon the admirable delivery of his rhetorical speeches, have raised him to the highest rank of orators and original thinkers. Rhetoric is the ornament of a language. It clothes language in a beautiful garb and thereby makes it attractive and charming. But rhetoric concerns as much with thought as with style. A noble thought and good style should go hand in hand or else the absence of the one will mar the beauty of the other. Sonorous nonsense is as unattractive as thought dressed in a poor and miserable garb.

2. It appears thus clear that rhetoric not only adds to the volume of literature, but renders it permanent and durable. The world takes little notice of common place and inept productions which strike neither the ear nor the heart. The art of rhetoric is akin to that of painting. It embodies thoughts, gives them shape and colour making a striking impression like a beautiful picture.

It takes a stronghold of our mind so that we ponder over and contemplate it with keen interest. It excites our deepest emotions and feelings to admiration and wonder. But rhetoric in order to produce a permanent influence must be true and genuine as distinguished from false and affected. The style of the euphuistic school—a style which consists in expressing one's self in a tissue of metaphors of the most far-fetched, artificial and unnatural character, together with the antitheses, balanced clauses, contrasts, puns, conceits and mannerisms of every description until thought seems altogether lost under a mass of ornamental and rhetorical devices and sense is sacrificed to misplaced ingenuity and pedantry—cannot be a true standard of rhetoric. True rhetoric, as I have already remarked, consists in keeping a just proportion between the sublimity of thought and the loftiness of style. The characteristics of Milton's prose writings furnish the best model for a rhetorical style. They are full of convincing, strong, manly reasoning, sometimes in a dry enough logical form, but often coloured by his lofty enthusiasm for liberty and truth and exalted into lofty eloquence, whence his arguments often rise to a tissue of poetic imagery of the utmost magnificence. The splendour of his imagery and illustration is enhanced by musical harmony of diction. The same union of depth of views and liberality of sentiments with splendour of style constitutes Burke's distinction as an orator. "Everywhere the champion of principles and persecutor of vice," says M. Taine, "bringing to the attack all the forces of his wonderful knowledge, his lofty reason and his splendid style, with the unwearied and uninterrupted ardour of a moralist and a knight. The secret of his success as an orator lies in his possessing not only practical knowledge of things but also philosophical grasp of principles together with a splendour of poetic conception and loftiness of style. Like a poet an orator is born rather than made. He intuitively grasps what is sublime and beautiful in thought and language. His inborn

genius would mould language in any shape he pleases naturally and without any effort suiting it admirably to his conceptions. Thus the influence he exercises upon literature is vast rendering it an interesting study and worthy of remembrance.

3. Poetry is the interpretation and criticism of life made according to the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty. There are two important elements in real poetry—truth and seriousness of substance and matter and felicity and perfection of diction and manner. In poets of the highest order and foremost rank, such as Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Kalidasa the union of these two essential ingredients of true poetry is invariably present. A short account of the principal characteristics of these eminent poets will, it is hoped, give a better idea of the nature and functions of poetry than any definition or abstract idea of it can ever give.

The poems of Homer have vigour and freshness. His works are of very high historic and linguistic value. They are grand and beautiful productions and monuments of epic genius. He is called the Attic Bard for his prominence as the most distinguished Grecian poet and there would be hardly any difference in meaning, if for the word, bard, we were to substitute, bird, for his songs are as sweet and natural as those of the nightingale.

The same merit is justly due to Shakespeare "who warbles his native woodnotes wild." His faithful portraiture of life and nature makes his works both a charming and instructive study. His power to describe things just as they are whether dignified or mean, beautiful or disgusting is his peculiar characteristic similar to that of the Romantic School as opposed to the fastidiousness of the Classical School which affects to represent only what is grand, majestic and beautiful in life avoiding every thing mean and vulgar in manners, character or language as beneath the dignity of literature, thus giving a beautiful picture of life—not what life really is

but what it should be if regarded by reason: His power of concrete conceptions, *i.e.*, of embodying feelings and thoughts in a concrete form and his power of intuitive grasp or comprehension, *i.e.*, of immediately grasping and conceiving things as a whole where ordinary minds would find it necessary to take them up part by part and establish them by a process of reasoning, is the distinguishing feature of his genius. "Shakespeare," says Mr. Henry Cochin, a French writer, "is the king of poetic rhythm and style, as well as the king of the realm of thought. Along with his dazzling prose, Shakespeare has succeeded in giving us the most harmonious verse which has ever sounded upon the human ear since the days of the Greeks." Like Shakespeare, Kalidasa is another spontaneous natural poet. It is popularly believed that his poetry was inspired by the Goddess Saraswati whose favourite child he was. His marvellous descriptive power, the variety and harmony of his versification, his charming humour and extreme fidelity to nature, place him in the foremost rank of poets and dramatists. His *Sakuntala* translated into English by Sir Wlliam Jones has been pronounced by competent authorities as one of the best productions of genius.

In the sure and flawless perfection of his rhythm and diction, Milton is as admirable as Virgil or Dante and in this respect he is unique among English writers. Nature formed him to be a great poet. "The Milton of religious and political controversy," says Mathew Arnold, "and perhaps of domestic life is not seldom disfigured by want of amenity, by acerbity. The Milton of poetry, on the other hand, is modest, of devout prayer to the eternal spirit and of industrious and select reading". Milton belonged to the artistic school of poets.

The refined, polished and scholarly character of Milton's works, his variety and harmony of versification, the sublimity and grandeur of his thoughts, mark him out as the most

distinguished of the classical and artistic poets. His conception of God and the Angels in his *Paradise Lost* is anthropomorphic.

"In quibbles angels and archangels join,
And God the Father turns a school divine."

But no poet was ever actuated by a more exalted conception of the responsibility of the poet and of the nature and functions of poetry as the highest form of expression for the highest truths and aspirations of the human mind and as capable of the deepest and most permanent effect upon the character of a nation. A great national poem he considers to be the greatest treasure that a nation can possess.

According to Milton, poetry should be simple, sensuous and impassioned. Simplicity and epigrammatic conciseness where more is meant than meets the ear, a sense of the beautiful and the sublime and a vehement ardour or passion, are the essential qualities of poetry. Instances of epigrammatic conciseness are abundant in Pope's poetry.

"Dash the proud Gamester in his gilded car,
Bare the mean heart that lurks beneath a star."

Or, in the same strain—

"Lely on animated canvas stole,
The sleepy eye that spoke the melting soul."

As to the sense of the beautiful and the sublime the well-known lines of Milton will occur to every one.

"These are thy glorious works
Parent of good, Almighty ;
Thine this universal frame thus wondrous fair,
Thyself how wondrous then, unspeakable."

The wonders of creation—the starry firmament with the Sun and the planets kept at relative distances and preserving the order and regularity of the universe by an inexorable law and this globe containing the noblest of earthly creatures—Man—and all objects animate and inanimate to minister to his comfort and happiness—naturally call forth poetry. As

to poetical fire or passion the following lines of Gray afford the best example :—

"Some village Hampden that with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of his fields withstood ;
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest ;
Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood."

Poetry is the best expression of animation and life. It awakens and rouses to action our dormant and slumbering emotions. It stimulates our exertions, quickens our sensibilities, excites our emotions and creates in us an aesthetic taste. A tender heart is perforce susceptible of the charming influence of sweet poetry. A man who is not affected by the music of melliflous verse must be hard-hearted and callous "fit for treasons, stratagems and plots." It is the best touchstone of character. Like fire in a furnace, it separates the dross from the gold, purifies and elevates the thoughts and sentiments, humanises our conduct and softens our heart.

4. From the above description of the nature and functions of poetry, it is clear that it exerts immense influence upon literature in various ways. As poetry has a potent sway over our thoughts and sentiments, it similarly affects literature which is a recorded language for the expression of our ideas and feelings. What we think and feel deeply we remember strongly. Many striking lines of eminent poets have become proverbs and favourite quotations. We are not likely to forget them as they have a strong hold of our attention. Thus poetry secures the permanence and durability of literature. It also enriches literature by elevating and brightening its tone and character, rendering it musical and harmonious and easy of remembrance. To poetry literature owes its simplicity and epigrammatic conciseness, beauty and artistic excellence, aesthetic perfection and fiery and passionate ardour. Poetry is the nucleus of literature in the infancy of society. For poetry is the expression of concrete forms which such a

society can only grasp. Philosophical or abstract ideas develop themselves in a rather advanced state of society when poetic thoughts are rationalised or reduced to a science. Poetry relieves literature of dulness and monotony by variegating it with animating strains, tropes and figures in beautiful garbs and chisselled and choice expression attuned to music. Martial, lyric, epic, dramatic, pastoral and devotional poetry or sonnet has each its peculiar functions to discharge and at the hands of the best artist it doses it admirably and beautifully.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AKBAR.

A KBAR, a true type and worthy representative of the Emperors of Delhi, succeeded his father Humayun in 1556. He was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth, having reigned up to the year 1605. To him belongs the credit of founding and consolidating the Moghul Empire in India. By wise policy and consummate skill he put an end to the long-standing conflict between Afghan and Moghul and brought about a reconciliation between Mahomedan and Hindu. The annals of his reign inaugurate a new era in the history of India. Although a mere boy when the succession devolved upon him he had the moral courage to disregard the vicious counsels of Bairam Khan, his guardian and regent. When Himu, a Hindu leader of the Afghans, who were defeated in a battle with the army of Akbar, was brought a wounded prisoner to the Emperor, Bairam exhorted him to kill the Hindu and win the title of Ghazi-ud-din or Champion of the Faith, Akbar refused to imbrue his hands with the blood of a helpless warrior, but the wicked regent did not scruple to behead him with his own sword. Having reached his eighteenth year, Akbar threw off the pupillage and control of his guardian. The means he adopted to restore order in Hindustan after two centuries of anarchy and misrule, showed that Akbar was a far-seeing statesman and an able commander. He captured fortresses in the possession of the Afghans and stamped out disaffection amongst his own turbulent and troublesome chieftains. He also subdued and dethroned dynasties of independent Sultans who had built up kingdoms in Guzerat, Malwa and Bengal.

It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed account of his warlike exploits or the particulars of his life as these can be easily had by reference to standard works of Indian

history. We would only select such anecdotes and interesting matters as are calculated to throw light upon his character and general policy. Some traditions have been preserved which serve to show Akbar's strength of character and hatred of dishonesty and deception illustrating at the same time the lawlessness which he had to face. An officer named Adham Khan was sent to subdue the Sultan of Malwa. The Sultan fled at his approach leaving his treasures behind. Adham Khan took possession of Malwa with all the treasures left but kept back the Emperor's share of the spoil only sending a few elephants to Agra. Akbar managed to detect this concealment and criminal misappropriation on the part of the officer and punished him by recalling him and appointing another person as governor in his place.

The most arduous task of Akbar had been to quell the frequent rebellions breaking out in the different parts of the Empire.

The truth seems to be that the Mahomedan religion had lost its force. The brotherhood of Islam could not bind Moghul, Turk, and Afghan into one united mass as it had united the Arab tribes in the old wars of the Khalifat. The dismemberment of the Mahomedan Empire in India had begun two centuries before, at the fall of the Tughlak dynasty and revolt of the Deccan. Under such circumstances Akbar called in the aid of a new power to restore peace in Hindustan and consolidate a new empire, and the policy which he pursued forms the most important and interesting event in the history of his reign which maintained the integrity of the Moghul Empire for more than a century and since then has been the mainstay of the British Empire in India.

The first step in the work of amalgamation was the conquest and pacification of the princes of Rajputana. The Rajput league under the suzerainty of the Rana of Chitor was bound together by a system of inter-marriage. The policy of Akbar was to put the emperor in the room of the

Rana, to become himself the suzerain of the Rajput league and the commander of the Rajput armies. To carry out this object he married the daughters of the Rajas giving them daughters in return. Although this practice of Akbar was considered as highly heterodox by the Mahomedans as it was not sanctioned by the Koran, and in the teeth of violent opposition of the Rana who would not mingle his high-caste Kshattriya blood even with that of an emperor, the majority of the Rajput princes adopted it and was raised to positions of honour and emolument by the emperor.

Henceforth there were two aristocracies in the Moghul Empire, and two armies. Each was distinct from the other and acted as a balance against the other. The one was Moghul and Mahomedan; the other was Rajput and Hindu. The religious antagonism between Mahomedan and Hindu was a positive gain to Akbar. Mahomedans could not always be trusted in a war against Mahomedan rebels; and any scruples about fighting fellow-Mahomedans were a hindrance to Akbar in the suppression of a revolt. But no such scruples existed between Mahomedans and Hindus. Mahomedans were always ready to fight idolatrous Rajas, the Rajputs, on the other hand, were always ready to fight Mahomedan rebels; and they gloried especially in fighting their hereditary enemies, the bigoted Afghans who had driven their forefathers from their ancient thrones on the Ganges and the Jumna. He thus played off the Hindus against the Mahomedans and *vice versa* to serve his own purpose.

Akbar pursued a conciliatory policy towards the Hindu princes and took care to provide a career for them. He appointed his brother-in-law, the son of the Jaipur Raja, Governor of Punjab. Raja Man Sinha, also a Hindu relative did good war-service for Akbar from Kabul to Orissa and ruled as Governor of Bengal from 1598 to 1604. His great finance minister, Raja Todar Mall, was likewise a Hindu and carried out the first land settlement and survey of India.

Out of 415 Mānsabdars or Commanders of horse, 51 were Hindus. Akbar abolished the Jaziah ~~or~~ tax on non-Musalmans as well as the tax on pilgrimages and placed all his subjects upon a political equality. He had the Sanscrit sacred books and 'epic poems,' as also the Bible translated into Persian and showed a keen interest in the religion of his Hindu subjects. He respected their laws, but he put down their inhuman rites. He forbade trial by ordeal and animal sacrifices.

Akbar was the greatest Moslem ruler that has ever ruled in India, and one of the wisest and noblest of sovereigns that the world has ever seen. His bravery in war was remarkable, and he seemed indeed to be stimulated by an instinctive love of danger. His wonderful activity, his inexhaustible energy and his great power of endurance were equally remarkable, and baffled all opposition, and he has justly been called the real founder of the great Moghul Empire. His administrative talents were also of a high order, and with the assistance of Musalman and Hindu ministers, he organised a perfect system of administration, and settled the land revenue of this great Empire after a careful survey. And lastly, he was enlightened and tolerant and catholic, in his views. He looked upon all systems of religion with equal veneration, and held that people could obtain salvation by following any religion. He was a patron of learning. Urdu and Hindi poets received every assistance and encouragement from him. He was fond of music and invited Miyan Tansen from the court of Bāghelkhund and conferred high honour on him. Akbar has often been described by his contemporaries as being proud and arrogant, but clement and affable. He was tall and handsome, broad in the chest and long in the arms. His complexion was ruddy and nut-brown. He had a good appetite and digestion, but was sparing as regards wine and flesh meat. He was remarkable for strength and courage. He was hostile to the Mahomedan religion. He broke up the power of the Ulama, a collective body of orthodox

Mahomedan doctors. He conversed with the teachers of other religions—Brahmans, Buddhists and Parsis. He sent a letter to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, requesting that Christian fathers might be sent to teach him the tenets of Christianity. Both Akbar and his minister Abul Fazl professed the utmost respect for Christianity ; and Akbar even entered the Church and prostrated before the image of Christ ; but neither the Emperor nor his minister were sufficiently impressed with the truths of Christianity to become baptised.

Akbar indulged in religious experiences until he believed himself to be a representative of God. He founded a new religion known as the Divine Faith. He allowed himself to be worshipped as a type of royalty emanating from God, while he himself worshipped the sun in public as the most glorious image of the Almighty Being in the world. But in reality he was a strict monotheist.

Akbar sought to better his subjects by measures of toleration as well as by improved social laws. He permitted the use of wine, but punished intoxication. He gratified the Hindu subject by prohibiting the slaughter of cows. He forbade the marriage of boys before they were sixteen. He permitted the marriage of Hindu widows, and did his best to put a stop to widow burning. In after-life he tried to check the practice of polygamy amongst the Mahomedans.

The daily life of Akbar and his Court may be gathered from three institutions of Moghul origin. They were known as the Jharoka, the Durbar and the Ghusal-khana ; in English parlance they would be known as the window, the audience hall, and the dressing room. At the Jharoka Akbar used to worship the sun and was himself worshipped by the multitude assembled below ; from the window also he inspected troops, horses, elephants and camels and was entertained with the combats of animals. The Durbar was the hall of audience where the Emperor disposed of petitions, administered justice and received Rajas, Ameers and Ambassadors. The Ghusal-khana was a private assembly held in the evening in

a pavilion behind the Durbar Court. None were admitted excepting the ministers and such grandees as received special invitations.

Akbar is famous for having introduced a land settlement into his dominions. It should be explained that under Moghul rule all lands were treated as the property of the Emperor. They were divided into two classes, Khalisa and Jaghir. The Khalisa lands were those held by the Emperor as his own demesnes, and paid a yearly rent to him. The Jaghirs were estates given in lieu of salaries. In this way Jaghirs were given to queens and princesses in the imperial harem, to governors, ministers and grandees. Every Jaghir paid a fixed yearly rent to the Emperor ; and all that could be collected above this amount belonged to the Jaghirdar or holder of the Jaghir.

Akbar employed a Hindu named Todar Mall to make a revenue settlement ; in other words, to fix the yearly payments to be made by holders of the land. All lands were measured, whether cultivated or uncultivated. Every piece of land yielding a yearly income of Rs. 25,000 was placed under the charge of an officer known as a *Krori* the object being to bring uncultivated lands into cultivation.

We have the authority of Sir William Hunter to state that Akbar's revenue system was based on the ancient Hindu customs and survives to this day. He first executed a survey or actual measurement of the fields. His officers then found out the produce of each acre of land and settled the Government share amounting to one-third of the gross produce. Finally they fixed the rates at which this share of the crop might be commuted into a money payment. These processes, known as the land settlement, were at first repeated every year. But to save the peasant from the extortions and vexations incident to an annual enquiry, Akbar's land settlement was afterwards made for ten years. His officers strictly enforced the payment of a third of the whole produce ; and Akbar's land revenue from Northern India exceeded

what the British levy at the present day. From his fifteen Provinces including Kabul beyond the Afghan frontier, and Khandesh in Southern India, he demanded fourteen millions sterling per annum ; or excluding Kabul, Khandesh, and Sind, twelve and a half millions. The British land-tax from a much larger area of Northern India was only twelve millions in 1883. Allowing for the difference in area and in purchasing power of silver, Akbar's tax was about three times the amount which the British take. Two later Returns show the land revenue of Akbar at sixteen and a half and seventeen and a half millions sterling. The Provinces had also to support a local militia in contradistinction to the regular royal army, at a cost of at least twelve millions sterling. Excluding both Kabul and Khandesh, Akbar's demand from the soil of Northern India exceeded twenty-two millions sterling per annum under the two items of land revenue and militia cess. There were also a number of miscellaneous taxes. Akbar's total revenue is estimated at forty-two millions.

The latter years of Akbar were embittered by the rebellion of his eldest son which was in fact a Mahomedan insurrection against his apostasy. It was suppressed and Akbar became outwardly reconciled to his son ; but he was apparently a changed man. He abandoned heresy and scepticism and returned to the Mahomedan faith. He died in October 1605, aged sixty-four.

The first element of civilisation is free and easy communication ; and during the greater part of the seventeenth century this was by no means wanting in India. The roads and postal arrangements which prevailed throughout the Moghul Empire during the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, were quite as advanced, if not more so, than those of France during the reign of Louis XIV or those of England under Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

The administration of civil justice of every town was conducted by the Nawab and that of criminal justice by the Kotwal. The Nawab was assisted by a Kazi reputed to be

learned in Mahomedan law ; and there was always a Mullah or Mufti who superintended all matters pertaining to the Mahomedan religion. The Nawab generally rendered speedy justice. If a man sued another for a debt, he had either to show an obligation or produce two witnesses, or take an oath. If he was a Christian he swore on the Gospels ; if a Mahomedan he swore on the Koran ; and if a Hindu he swore on the Cow. The Kotwal discharged the functions of Magistrate and Judge and was also head of the police and superintendent of the prison. While the Kotwal maintained peace and order in the town, an officer known as the Fauzdar carried out the same duties in the surrounding country. The Fauzdar exercised the same authority in the district that the Kotwal exercised in the town. All revenue questions had been left to an officer called the Dewan. It was the duty of this officer to receive all collections of revenue, to pay all salaries, including that of the Subahdar or Nawab, and devote his whole attention to the remittance of the largest possible yearly balance to the imperial treasury at Delhi.

The Emperor was the sole fountain of all honour, rank and titles throughout the Empire. These rewards were so eagerly coveted that grantees were often ready to sacrifice the greatest part of their wealth to obtain them. They were never hereditary, but they elevated the grantee for the time being above his fellows in the eye of the whole court, and were thus always received with the utmost pride and gladness of heart. Many a Subahdar or Nawab driven to the verge of rebellion by insult or neglect, has been brought within the pale of loyalty and devotion by the receipt of an empty title and a dress of honour from the Great Mogul. Mr. J. T. Wheeler has recorded a correct and impartial view of Moghul administration in his history of India. The character of the Moghul administration is confounded with that of the reigning sovereign ; and if the Emperor is self-willed, self-indulgent, and vicious like Jehangir or Shah Jehan, the

conclusion is drawn that the administration is equally selfish and tyrannical and regardless of the welfare of the masses. But this inference would be fallacious. The Emperor was certainly a despot ; his will was law and his influence was great for good or evil. The local Viceroy may have been corrupt and grasping to the last degree. But the Moghul administration was not the handiwork of individuals or generations ; it was the growth of centuries kneaded into shape by the experience of ages, hedged around by checks which are not always visible to the historian, and controlled by the latent force of custom, habit and public opinion to which the most despotic princes are occasionally compelled to bow. The Moghul Emperors, especially Akbar, followed the policy of equality and fair play which although solemnly declared by the Royal Proclamation of 1858 as the policy which ought to be pursued in India, is seldom carried into effect by the enlightened English Government.

Akbar came to the throne when the country was suffering under a confusion of claims, not with swelling professions and elaborate promises on lips and avarice at heart, but with a calm determination to adjust the disputed rights between the rulers and the ruled. To have brought together and reconciled conflicting elements of the Empire ; to have formed, out of distinct and alien races, hostile creeds, and exclusive nationalities, a homogeneous people, is not the only merit of Akbar and other Moghul rulers of India. To them we owe the perfect development and preservation of that matchless municipal system—the village-community—which left the people of India in the enjoyment of a larger measure of real freedom under the most despotic occupiers of the Delhi throne than has been enjoyed by other peoples living under freer constitutions. To them we owe that magnificent land-system under which agriculture flourished and wealth increased in spite of rapacious proconsuls and desolating civil wars and ruinous invasions. To them we owe that early land settlement which in accuracy, complete-

less, and magnitude, far surpasses all the settlements yet effected by British statesmanship in India.

And hence the late lamented Mr. Robert Knight, the Bayard of Indian Journalism, said : "A very remarkable settlement of the land was made in the time of the Emperor Akbar, by his great Minister Todar Mall, whose assessments, I found, were not empirical, and put our own entirely to shame. He began by instituting a careful and minute record, in all the provinces of the Empire, of the actual yield of the soil, and he had the enquiry protracted over a cycle of nineteen years, before he ventured to affirm the average returns to the cultivator's industry."

Many sources of income now open to the English were to Akbar sealed. He had no revenue from stamps, no monopoly in opium and salt. "It would have been well," says Dr. Sambhu Chundra Mukherjee, "if the Anglo-Indian statesmen could profit by the precedent of their Mahomedan predecessors. But instead of taking advantage of the experience of centuries they have pursued a policy of their own whose mischief of irritating the people is not counterbalanced by even the paltry recommendation of cheapness. Every Governor-General from Lord Teignmouth to Viscount Canning has declared himself for what has been termed 'the patriarchal system,' and has tried to shape the Government accordingly. What is insisted on as the chief merit of this system, namely, it enables the ruling-body to watch over every minute proceeding of the people, is, we submit, its chief defect. Under the patriarchal theory, the Government and its subjects stand in the relation of parent and children. It is, we believe, open to the feeblest intellect to perceive that a system which pretends to give the people a sort of earthly Providence in their rulers should be necessarily very vexatious and very expensive."

According to the Ayin Akbari the total revenue of the Mughul Emperors was forty-two millions sterling including all the petty taxes. With this sum they managed an empire like India, and a standing army of three lakhs of men without

any further taxation. They also built such magnificent buildings as the Tajmehal, Jumma Musjid and others which cost them an immense sum of money. No doubt a source of their income was plunder. Yes, the Moghuls too were not above looting, but they looted the enemy—never their subjects. It was not plunder or no plunder that made all the differences in the financial results of Moghul and British Rule in India. The Mahomedan rulers of the country did not rob Peter to pay Paul.

Their Government spent a good deal of money on useless works, but the money still remained in the country. Agriculture flourished, trade and commerce went on smoothly as far as knowledge of the people permitted. Famines, the high prices of food, the extinction of the aristocracy and of various industries, and above all, incessant drain of money, have, in our time, produced a degree of misery that never existed under the Hindu, or the Moghul, Tippo Sahib or the Peshwa. The English civilians are practically so many money-recruiters sent to India. India is the great market-place where Englishmen sell not only their commodities, but also their talents at an enormous price—not at the desire of the people but through the interposition of the Government. Indian weavers, oilmen, paper-makers, blacksmiths, and many others are starving and fast disappearing.

"In our insular impatience of every national institution," says Mr. Rebert Knight, "that differed from our own, our rule has been one sustained effort to fuse and re-cast everything in India, in the moulds of English thought, feeling, and development. In our impatience of what we despised for no other reason than that we did not understand it, we have broken down every relation of class to class, and disintegrated the whole social and political life of the people. The subversion of Native Rule and the substitution of a rule of foreigners in its stead, was a vast revolution in itself; while not content with the change in the life of the people, we have set ourselves to remodel every institution upon Western, and,

indeed, English ideas. And the result is what might have been foretold. The people are docile and accustomed by long ages of submission to obey their rulers blindly. They have conformed to our rules and regulations without a thought of actively resisting us ; and to-day India presents the spectacle of a vast and noble tree that has been torn up from the soil, while every leaf drops and withers from the disruption of its roots."

THE QUESTION OF DOWRY IN INDIA.

Social reformers have entered upon a noble mission to reduce the enormous expenses incurred by the Hindus on occasions of domestic and religious ceremonies. Why our educated countrymen are not lending them substantial support is unaccountable. The general poverty of India urgently demands it, religious scruples do not prevent it and the improvement of our condition educational, commercial and industrial, greatly necessitates it. This practice of extravagance is due to the apathy and indifference of the people to their best interests, their vanity of display, their inordinate desire of popular applause and their ignorance of the principles of economic science. The parents or the guardians of a bridegroom are influenced by selfish considerations in demanding, from those of the bride, payment of heavy fees on his account, especially when he is a suitable match, without thinking for a moment that the gain is an imaginary one, as similar fees will be demanded from them when they have occasion to dispose of their own girls in marriage. They should subordinate the interest of self to that of the public. This pernicious tendency of demanding what is known as *Vara Sulka*, bridegroom price, which a learned Justice of the High Court in the Native State of Travancore once judicially described in language, not perhaps over-refined but language which is extremely true, as "breeding bull price." Perhaps there is a certain amount of brutal frankness about it, but the description given by the learned Judge is essentially true. In his remarkable speech on "Married Boys" at the Sri Mullam Popular Assembly, Travancore, Mr. Sesha Iyer pointed out a novel method of putting a stop to demands of heavy sums on behalf of bridegrooms. "If I wanted the Government," he said, "to confine admission to Secondary Schools to married pupils,

the subject might be more acceptable to my community at any rate. Perhaps you would ask how is it that I dared to make that statement. I say it is because this marriage problem which is such a thorn now, would then be very easily solved. Instead of the parents of the girls going in search of bridegrooms with heavy bags of money to purchase them, the parents of boys would be going in for brides and no *Vara Sulka* would be demanded, but it is perhaps likely that *Kanya Sulka* would be demanded." But it is a matter of grave doubt whether any liberal government would allow such a step to be taken, because by attempting to remove one social evil another of a graver character would be countenanced. Child-marriage is objectionable on moral grounds and in Hindu Society on Shastric grounds as well. The Consent Act has provided a partial remedy against the injurious consequences of early marriage. The religious plea put forward for such marriage is proved to be absurd by a passage in the *Smriti* quoted in Raghunandan's *Jyotish-tattwa* which means this :—

" If a man of 20 years of age approaches a woman of the full age of 16 years when she has been purified by a certain event, in the expectation of offspring, good offspring is born ; below those ages, the offspring is bad ".

Further, it rests upon the authority of Susruta and European medical science that children born of immature parents do not attain to a high standard of excellence. Both Hindu Medical Science and Hindu Religious Authority unite in fixing 16 years as the proper age for a woman to enter upon the duties of maternity ; and in this they are supported by the medical science of Europe. If the State is unable to fix the minimum marriageable age, it cannot be denied that the indirect and educative influence of the Consent Act will operate with the forces in our society in slowly pushing forward the present age of marriage. It is hoped that the paramount considerations of good health and proper physical development will weigh with all classes of society in India

to maintain a yet higher limit of marriageable age. Adult marriage will not only secure the vitality of the married parties but will tend to remove the evil we are considering, *viz.*, imposition of a heavy fee for securing a bridegroom. If such parties are not minors or at least attain maturity of understanding at the time of marriage, they will not be willing slaves to a custom which has the effect of pauperising in most cases the family of the bride and at the same time does not enrich that of the bridegroom or the bridegroom himself. The dowry is seldom spent in making a permanent suitable provision for the bridegroom or the bride nor in improving the general condition of the family to which the former belongs, but is often squandered in tomfooleries and *tamashas* on the marriage occasion or to satisfy the personal greed and caprice of the bridegroom's parent or guardian. But if the bridegroom has got time enough to obtain liberal education, he can suggest reasonable proposals in connection with the matter of dowry consistent with justice and humanity and may be in a position to enforce them by refusing to marry unless they are acted upon. Again although no system of regular courtship is prevalent in Hindu society, as far as the existing practice in respectable families is concerned, the parties to the proposed marriage are allowed sufficient opportunities to know each other and examine and study each other's character and disposition. And when the marriage takes place as the result of such examination and study, it may be presumed that the married couple began to like each other before that event. In such a case both of them would have a powerful motive in seeking their own interest and that of their families. As the exaction of an exorbitant dowry spells great hardship upon, if not ruin of the bride's family, it will be obviated by their joint inclination and exertion. It is also noteworthy that the guardians of Hindu families, as constituted at present, are, most of them, liberally educated and highminded enough to protest against and cease to be parties to such inhuman or unconscionable bargains or demands.

The March number of the *Bharati* publishes an article in which the writer upholds the practice of demanding dowry on the occasion of a son's marriage. He enumerates the blessings that the practice will bring in the long run to the cause of social reform and substantiates his points with an array of facts and arguments which it is not difficult to meet and refute. According to the writer the practice (1) has improved the standards of married life, (2) has helped to raise the marriagable age, (3) has been doing away with the barriers of intercourse between the different divisions of the same caste, (4) may in course of time help in abolishing the system of caste, (5) may teach others from the example of those who are too poor to get their daughters married to think twice before entering into matrimony, (6) has nearly swept away the baneful custom of *Kulinism* and 7) has led to curtailment of expenses on other heads. As to the first point, one fails to see how the practice has improved the standards of married life. Such standards in order to be improved must satisfy certain conditions such as (a) a strong sense and faithful discharge of duties mutually existing between the married parties, (b) existence of love and friendship between the parties and their respective families, (c) possession of a certain amount of culture and good breeding by them. The fact that the husband's father or other guardian has managed to levy a heavy tax from that of his wife on the occasion of his marriage, is calculated to fulfil the above requisites. On the contrary, it will stand in the way of fulfilling them.

A feeling of bitterness engendered in the mind of the wife and her family by the inhuman and ignoble conduct of her husband's father will go a great way in preventing the flow of genuine affection between the wife and the husband, and feelings of cordial amity and agreeable and harmonious relations between their respective families. As to the writer's second point, that the practice has helped to raise the marriagable age of our girls, all that need be said

is that there is a great difference between a girl's father being compelled by dire necessity—his inability to pay the dowry demanded—to postpone her marriage and his determination to postpone it by reason of his conviction of the injurious consequences of early marriage. The same remark is applicable to the other points raised by the writer in favour of the baneful practice. If such practice tends to facilitate inter-caste marriages, to abolish the caste system to some extent and to encourage celibacy, such results may be regarded in the light of virtues of necessity. They flow abnormally rather than normally in the natural and ordinary course of social reform. Nor is it easy to understand how *Kulinism* has been nearly swept away by this practice as urged by the writer. No doubt it was because the bride's father had no choice left but to select a bridegroom from some privileged class or Kulins, that the practice originated. But Kulins as a class do not insist upon the payment of heavy dowry in all cases. Some of them are, or more correctly, were a poor lot (Kulins in their original status can hardly be said to exist now), the male members of whom can be induced to marry on condition of allowing them to live in the family of their wives. If *Kulinism* has become extinct, it has not been by operation of the practice of demanding dowry but by the levelling tendency of English education resulting in merit and not in caste or pedigree being generally regarded as a mark of honourable distinction. In the same way the curtailment of other than marriage expenses is to be attributed not to the existence of the practice in question but to the growth of the idea of economy produced by the study of English literature on political economy and emulation of the practice of our forefathers of plain living and high thinking.

The practice of demanding dowry on the occasion of a marriage violates the essential principles of morality and economy in as much as the payment is enforced by taking undue advantage of the helpless condition of the bride's

guardian and it is wasted and squandered in pompous shows and frivolous sports and amusements and not in making a permanent and useful provision for the benefit of either the husband or the wife. With such provision they would be better enabled to carry on their domestic affairs efficiently and usefully. As the domestic life of the Hindus is generally pure, simple and economical, it is a sufficient guarantee against their making any wrong or injurious use of any accessions to their fortune. Even Englishmen entertain a favourable view of such life. "The domestic life of the Hindus," says Sir Henry Cotton, "is, indeed, in itself, not more immoral than that of a European home. Far from it; there is so much misconception on this point that it is desirable to state what the facts actually are. The affection of Hindus for the various members of the family group is a praiseworthy and distinctive feature of national character evinced not in sentiment only, but in practical manifestations of enduring charity; the devotion of a parent to a child and of children to parents is most touching. The normal social relations of a Hindu family knitted together by ties of affection, rigid in chastity and controlled by the public opinion of neighbouring elders and caste, command our admiration and in many respects afford an example we should do well to follow."

The wants of the poor Indian, notably the Bengali, are few and his desires are limited, and he remains contented if such wants are supplied and such desires are satisfied. A few plots of land to raise crops upon, a few cattle and poultry and a humble shed to live in, generally constitute his worldly possessions.

The practice in question tends to diminish such possessions of one of the two families between whom an alliance by marriage is formed. The females are also injuriously affected by such practice. But for the inevitable necessity of paying expensive dowries, the father of a girl will gladly

make a suitable present to her of jwelleries on the occasion of her marriage. The principal property of our women consists of their ornaments of which they are very fond. Owing to the poverty of the masses, these trinkets are not worth much. But some of them by means of gifts from their relatives and by rigid economy manage to possess jwelleries, usually carried on their persons, of a value much above their condition. These constitute their *stridhan* or peculium to which they have absolute right and which they never allow to be used for meeting the ordinary expenses of the family except in extreme cases. Besides the pleasure of personal use, the principal motive which actuates a woman to secure this jewellery in spite of privation, is to make some provision for her heirs charged with the cost of performing her *sradh* ceremony, omission of which is considered the greatest calamity to a Hindu. In order to raise money for temporary purposes, she sometimes pawns some of her ornaments to a neighbouring rich lady and the fairness of their dealing is proved by the fact of their very rarely having occasion to have recourse to the courts for the purpose of settling their accounts and obtaining redress. It is indeed a matter of regret that her present enjoyment and future prospects are greatly blighted by the practice in question by removing the principal source from which her supply of ornaments is drawn, for as a general rule, she expects very little of them from the relations of her husband. As has already been remarked, the practice of demanding dowries on the occasion of a Hindu marriage, is mainly objectionable on moral grounds. For fear of incurring the displeasure of his neighbours and of being subjected to adverse public criticism, the father of a girl is obliged to dispose of her in marriage before a certain age. If the father of a boy, seeing the predicament in which the girl's father stands, takes undue advantage of it and unblushingly and mercilessly extorts from him an enormous sum in the shape of dowries for agreeing to marry his son with his daughter, his dealing is

hardly consistent with the principles of morality, and fairness. And as society is the aggregate of individuals, it can be easily imagined what will be its wretched moral condition if such individuals or the majority of them be parties to such unconscionable and unrighteous dealing. Such a society will have little claim to be called civilised. And what is our idea of civilisation ? The evolution of a highly destined society must be moral ; it must run in the grooves of the celestial wheels. It must be catholic in aim. Civilisation depends on morality. Every thing good in man leans on what is higher. This rule holds in small as well as in great things. Judged by such authoritative exposition of morality and civilisation, the element of the former will be found wanting in the conduct of the man, who entering into an unconscionable bargain of receiving dowries on the occasion of a marriage, is so blinded by his inordinate desire and ambition as not to perceive the inequity of his conduct. And the society composed of such selfish and heartless creatures has not the right to the claim of civilisation. In spite of his godless acquisition of property, such a creature cannot enjoy true happiness. Our conscience or the moral dictator within us incessantly and effectively reproaches us when we are guilty of such dealing. From what has been observed, it is not to be supposed that wealth is to be despised. All that is meant is that it ought not to be got by unfair or unjustifiable means. (Wealth is a real and substantial thing which ministers to our pleasures, increases our comfort, multiplies our resources and not infrequently alleviates our pains.) Wealth, like pleasure, is means to an end. When that end is lost sight of and wealth is sought for its own sake, when foul means are resorted to for its acquisition, when pride or abuse of wealth leads to irreligion and vice, it proves to be a curse rather than a blessing. A truly happy life is the result of two facts ; the development of material prosperity and the progress of humanity. These two elements are closely united, the one with the other. The

inward is reformed by the outward as the outward by the inward. Civilisation is the perfecting of civil life, the development of society properly so called and of the relations of men among themselves. Civilisation is the result of two facts : the development of social and individual activity, the progress of society and the progress of humanity. Every intelligent and right thinking man will easily perceive that this twofold progress is prevented or obstructed by the pernicious practice of demanding exorbitant dowries on the occasion of Hindu marriages.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

THE success of every movement depends, in a large measure, upon a right view of it entertained by the educated classes. The masses cannot be expected to look at things from a right standpoint. They are seldom found to give up their traditional habits and superstitions. Again, with an inconsistency arising from their ignorance of the *rationale* or first principles of a thing, they precipitately and rashly adopt a change that strikes their imagination or fancy. Such inconsistency or fickleness can only be removed when they imbibe the cultured opinion of the enlightened portion of the community. To begin with the masses, therefore, with a view to popularise a movement is to begin with the wrong end. Even in informed circles some fallacies prevail with regard to true Swadeshism. The first and the most important business of the Swadeshi leaders and those interested in the economic development of the country should be to eradicate them by spreading a wholesome and correct idea on the subject, which by a process of filtration will permeate the masses and the Indian dealers in foreign goods.

Broadly speaking, the Swadeshi movement simply seeks to impart a preference to the goods made or manufactured in India ; in other words, it seeks to propagate a love for the indigenous goods. It is a perfectly legitimate and harmless movement. It aims at much nearly the same thing that Mr. Chamberlain aspired to achieve by his well-known Preferential Tariff scheme, which sought to protect the indigenous British and Colonial manufactures by raising tariff walls against all imports from foreign countries. But in India legislative protection of Indigenous goods being uncertain, we must depend upon self-help and the patriotic spirit to do what we can for furthering the cause and fostering the growth and use of Swadeshi goods. And this is exactly what the Swadeshi movement aims at.

As to the origin of the movement, it should be remembered that it is not a new thing in our country. It has been growing on imperceptibly and silently for the last few years. In course of time the boycott was developed in the Swadeshi movement. Swadeshism has economic principles as its basis and is born of love for one's country and countrymen, the boycott has politics as its basis and has nothing to do with the industrial welfare of India, dependent as it is on a foreign Government. It is virtually a political weapon of the weak against the strong. Boycott without Swadeshi is nothing, but the latter succeeding without the help of the former is something tangible and substantial. Proper boycott should be the natural and normal outcome of the success of the Swadeshi movement in producing indigenous articles equal, if not superior, in quality and price, to imported foreign goods and sufficient in quantity to meet the growing demand in the country.

An Englishman, however, protesting against the boycott or the Swadeshi movement ignores or forgets the economic history of his own country. In the time of the East India Company, when Indian silk, cotton and other stuffs began to be imported into England, so great was the exasperation of English manufacturers at the idea of Indian goods getting a cheaper market in England that the British Parliament passed an Act in the year 1701 which obtained Royal assent on the 11th of April of that year by which it was enacted that "from and after the 29th day of September, 1701, all bought silks, angolas and stuffs mixed with silk or herbs of manufacture of China, Persia or the East Indies and all calicoes painted, dyed, printed or stained there which are or shall be imported into this kingdom, shall not be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain and all goods imported after that day shall be warehoused or exported again." In 1775, a Patriotic Society was started in Edinburgh as a protest against the fashion of wearing Indian cotton apparel. The object of that society was to boycott every man associated

with the ladies wearing it. Let our Anglo-Indian critics who find fault with the Bengal movement ponder over these enactments and resolutions. When a country noted for free trade did not scruple to pass the most invidious, one-sided and unfair laws which are the worst type of protection and boycott, it does not lie in the mouth of Englishmen to take exception to the Bengal Swadeshi movement, which is perfectly constitutional, affording that protection to the nascent economic industries of India which, according to Mill and other political economists, it is the bounden duty of the Government to do. The following passage occurs in Wilson's edition of Mill's *History of India* Vol. VII :—

It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period (1813) could be sold for a profit in the English market at a price of from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 or 80 per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had not this been the case, the mills of Manchester and Paisley would have stopped at the outset, and could scarcely have been in motion even by the power of steam. They were created at the sacrifice of Indian manufactures. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated. This act of self-defence was not permitted her. British goods were forced on her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.

The result of such an unfair arrangement has been that Indian indigenous industries have been killed and the relative position of India and Manchester has been reversed, that is to say, India which used to undersell Manchester in the English market, is now undersold by it in the Indian market. The masses and the Indian dealers in foreign imported goods may be deluded by the cant of English political economists —buy in the cheap and sell in the dear market. It may be followed from mere self-interested motive, but the new-born patriotic spirit created by the Swadeshi movement is dead against it. With a view to foster the growth and development of the decayed and declining industries of India, she should be prepared to make self-sacrifice in buying country

products, even if they are somewhat dearer than foreign goods. Even simple considerations of profit and loss should induce us to give preference to indigenous products. If the Indian purchaser were given all the facilities of protection which Europeans enjoyed, he could purchase articles as cheaply as the latter could do, in which case the Indian market would be cheaper so that the circumstance that at the present moment the Indian market was dear would be only temporary and special. What could be more natural for an Indian than to buy his cloth from his neighbour more cheaply than from a manufacturer living 6,000 miles off. The cost of transport, dear labour, interest on capital and other items had to be met by the Indian consumer, and if he purchased cloth made here, these items of expenditure would be saved. The Indian market would then be cheaper than the foreign. Even if an Indian pays dearer for home-made goods than foreign ones, he gains rather than loses in the long run. For his excess price remains in the country and goes towards financing the Indian manufacturer and trader, thereby enabling them to hold their own against their foreign rivals. The comparatively cheap price of foreign articles, though temporarily affording some advantage to the individual purchaser, is drained from the country which is thereby impoverished.

Again the public generally and the Indian dealers in foreign goods especially are liable to be misled by the theory of Division of Labour. Writers on economics in European countries and America had only the conditions of such countries in their mind and had not taken into consideration the conditions of Asiatic countries, especially the peculiar conditions of India after it became a dependency of England. This is exemplified in the cases of division of labour, the employment of borrowed foreign capital in India, the policy of buying cheap and selling dear, &c. Comparing a country to a family, Adam Smith pointed out the advantages of division of labour. A prudent man of a family would not think of making shoes for the family in the family itself, but

would employ a shoe-maker for the purpose. A shoe-maker would not make his own clothes but would employ a tailor. A cultivator would neither make shoes nor clothes but would employ special men for such purposes. Just as there was this division of labour in regard to the purposes of the family, so in regard to the requirements of the country, there should be a fair division of work. And what was prudent in regard to a family could not be imprudent in regard to a nation. Nobody disputes the soundness of this proposition in the abstract but its fallacy becomes apparent when it is applied to the trade relation between Manchester and India. Manchester's monopoly of the Indian market for its cotton goods is attempted to be justified on the principle of division of labour, that is to say, India should produce raw cotton and Manchester manufacture it into cloths for the mutual advantage of both the countries. Such a division of labour would have been profitable to India if she had been incapable of manufacturing industry. But there was no country in the world which could make better and cheaper cloths than India could. In fact, the cotton industry of India at one time acquired fame from one end of the globe to the other. Her cotton cloths had been used by the richest classes, nobles and princes of the different parts of the world. But the application of necessary skill and capital by Manchester has principally resulted in the decay and decline of the manufacturing industries of India. So the existing relation between Manchester and India as manufacturer and grower of cotton respectively is not the natural and normal outcome of division of labour. The Swadeshi movement is intended, to restore, as far as practicable, the original condition which favoured the growth and development of the indigenous industries of India.

There can be no question now that the movement has taken a firm hold of the country. At the outset the supply of country-made articles being limited, people were compelled to buy foreign things, but it was always under

protest, the buyer having an uncomfortable feeling that he was not doing the right thing. Naturally all indigenous industries have received a powerful impetus, and even capital is forthcoming, though the shyness of generations cannot be overcome at once. Out of Bengal the movement is quieter though not less firm. In the Punjab foreign articles are steadily boycotted, though there is not much noise. The market for foreign articles is gradually but surely contracting. The educated classes, everywhere else, are strongly opposed to the use of foreign articles.

In the Bombay Presidency, Swadeshi is not a new movement. Decannies have always used their own *dhootis*, slippers and head-dresses. Among them and the Gujratis shirtings and coatings of foreign manufacture only were in use. These also will certainly be abandoned with the spread and progress of the Swadeshi cause. Similarly, the Parsis with whom foreign articles chiefly found favour, are expected to very materially help their countrymen by starting Swadeshi industries and supplying capital for them.

The real secret of the Swadeshi movement is not commercial but national, though ultimately the law of demand and supply must regulate all produce which must also face the competition of the open market. But bearing in mind its real character, we cannot overlook the fact that the movement has a sentimental and intellectual side as well as its practical aspect. The national sentiment cannot fail to inspire practical efforts. The one is as indispensable as the other. There is no more striking or recent example of the growth of national sentiment than in Japan. The European costume and habits, to which the Japanese seem to have no objection, have made no change in their national sentiment and ways. Japanese life is the same as before their glorious victory over Russia. Almost everything required by the people is made in the country. They have taken all that Europe has to teach and give, but they have put their own hall-mark on everything.

In India the inroad of foreign manners threatened at one

time denationalising and degenerating tendencies. The first effect of a contact with a foreign civilisation and a foreign standard of personal comfort was a revolution in our ideas. In dress, food, habits of living and our surroundings we imitated the foreign standard introduced into the country. Nothing belonging to the country seemed to please us. Even our ordinary conversation was largely interspersed with English. We carried on private correspondence with friends in English, as if we had no language of our own. The reaction came in due course. There was a gradual repulsion which has culminated in the Swadeshi movement precipitated by political causes. But the movement itself is neither sudden nor spasmodic. It has its root in the general awakening of a dim consciousness of national life of which it is the first tangible manifestation. In the words of the late Professor Sir John Seely, we see "the germs out of which we can conceive an Indian nationality developing itself."

As to the practical aspect of the question, we have to examine the causes which led to the decay of Indian arts and industries, that were once in a flourishing condition. We have to see how far these causes it is in our power to remove. We have also to take note of the facilities which countries competing with us possess and whether similar ones can be created here. If there is one thing which unites the whole world and brings into contact the most distant parts of it, it is undoubtedly trade and commerce. We must see how far our tastes, needs and environments have changed and are changing, what articles of foreign manufacture we can eschew altogether, what we cannot help using, situated as we are, and what others, if any, we can manufacture to the extent required and at a cost which will ensure the permanence of the undertaking.

The political, social, religious and economic aspects of the question must be steadily kept in view and thoroughly grasped.

Politically, a policy of revenge and retaliation, which is

implied by the boycott of British goods, does not appear to be admirable. The British Government is too powerful and too firmly established to be intimidated into surrendering to us the rights and concessions we demand. The late Mr. Ranade, the scholar, patriot, economist and reformer, and the late Mr. J. N. Tata, who was pre-eminent among the the captains of industry and commerce, never attempted such a thing as the boycott of British goods. Renunciation of foreign manufactures is not *per se* an important factor to be reckoned with. What is principally wanted is to make the indigenous articles in quantity, quality and price such as are naturally and normally calculated to tend to considerably diminish, if not altogether to dispense with the use of foreign manufactures in our country.

Socially, no calling or avocation, however humble it may be, which is an honest means of earning a livelihood, should be stigmatised and shunned as ignoble and *infra dig.* The trader, the artisan, the labourer, the mechanic, form separate castes, communities or religious guilds. The learned professions alone monopolise all respect and esteem. There is no organisation to raise in public estimation the men engaged in arts and industries ; to help them with funds and to replenish their ranks to the required extent.

Religiously, the objection to sea-voyage is a great obstacle in the way of the Hindus, who constitute the bulk of the population, qualifying themselves by scientific or industrial training, by residence in foreign countries for carrying on the indigenous industries on modern improved methods. So long as caste or religious prejudices prevent the higher castes, who are undoubtedly the more enlightened and well-to-do, from becoming artisans and mechanics and thus bringing their intelligence and wealth to bear upon the improvement of arts and industries, the latter will continue to remain in a backward condition.

Economically, the greatest present-day problem in India is to bring capital and labour together and to create more of

mutual trust among our men. If banks are founded they are more for lending than for working any art or industry and the men of light and leading and of long purse find it safer to invest their savings at a small rate of interest in the Presidency Banks or Government paper than in the improvement of arts and industries. Again till a good portion of the money now locked up in jewellery is spent for their promotion, it is idle to expect any lasting good. The absence of machinery and of men skilled in the art of handling it is another great drawback and unless this is remedied systematically, no great impetus can be given to our arts and industries. It is only gradual training in large business concerns that can bring this about. The determination of a number of people to use only country-made goods is, indeed, a very good thing. But it is by no means the most difficult thing to attain. The most important factor, as has been already pointed out, is our capacity to supply the articles needed in quantities required, of quality that would elicit approval and at a cost which it is possible for the purchaser to pay not temporarily but permanently, till we are able to drive out the foreign article by the force of healthy, wholesome, economic rivalry. The rapid growth of the Swadeshi movement imperatively demands the removal of several obstacles such as a predilection for service in preference to an independent calling, the listlessness of the people, their want of patience, a want of the spirit of co-operation and the greed of traders. The hostile attitude of the latter will be relaxed or removed when they clearly perceive that it is more to their interest and profit to deal in country-made articles for which there is, thanks to the Swadeshi movement, a general, steady and growing demand than in foreign goods which are destined to be driven out of the Indian market sooner or later. By obstinately persevering in dealing in the latter, they will not only lower themselves in public estimation but lose pecuniarily, as the people are sure to withhold their patronage and custom from such traders as have proved unpatriotic, selfish and narrow-

minded. Having to deal with the public, the loss of their sympathy and support is sure to result in disastrous failure and ruin of their business. But they should be gained over not solely by coercive but by conciliatory measures as well. For this purpose those Indian dealers in foreign goods whose accounts show that they have in stock such articles which were ordered or purchased before the new Swadeshi movement fairly progressed should have an opportunity of disposing of their stores. For either to burn or to prohibit the use of such stores will only injure our own people and not the foreign trader who has already been paid for them.

As to popularising the Swadeshi movement among the masses, it is comparatively an easy task. They generally take their cue from their leaders in whom they place implicit confidence and faith as they know by experience that they have the true interest of the country at heart. They are ready and willing to be guided by the superior wisdom of the promoters of the Swadeshi movement which has been the means of saving most of them from starvation and destitution. As a matter of fact, the people prefer country-made cloths, as they are more durable than foreign stuffs, and if they can get them as cheap as the latter, they will require no inducement to be ardent Swadeshists. Above all, the movement ought to have at its back the virtue of character. Energy, exactness, promptitude, honesty, business instincts are indispensable requisites for its success.

MORALITY *versus* POLICY.

IN theory there is no antagonism between policy or the art of Government and morality or the ethical principle for the regulation of our conduct. In all civilised countries, the laws and regulations framed for purposes of administrations, are based upon moral considerations. Human law is an imitation of Divine law, the latter generally stamping itself upon our mind. Notions of abstract justice and right are innate principles in our moral constitution which we cannot deviate from or divest ourselves of, without doing violence to our nature. Its authority is derived from that of conscience which is the supreme dictator. The purity and perfection of human law depends upon the fact how far it makes a near approach to the Divine law or the highest ideal of justice and truth implanted in our nature. Such ideal is a never-failing test to judge of the soundness of any enactment or measure. But the character of any good Government is determined not so much by its having passed good and salutary laws as by giving practical application to them. Policy or expediency prescribes one course of action while duty prescribes another. It is only when the dictates of the latter are invariably complied with by any Government that its subjects have to congratulate themselves upon being righteously governed. There could not be a better and sounder command of the Sovereign than the Royal Proclamation of 1858 which we look upon as the Magna Charta of our rights and privileges conferring upon us a boon of equality of law and even-handed justice irrespective of considerations of creed, caste or colour. It is an unreserved and emphatic declaration of a course of duty which is worthy of the enlightened Government under which it is our proud privilege to live. It is a human law elevated to the high standard of righteous Government inspiring our admiration and confidence. But to our

disappointment, this almost Divine command of the Sovereign has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance thereof. It is a decree of Morality against Policy which is bound to be enforced to the disregard of frivolous objections on the part of the judgment-debtor. We are owners of this decree by right of assignment from Morality, the original decree-holder, and so our power to execute it is as good in law as that of the assignor. No compromise or part satisfaction would satisfy us. We are not for half measures. We want a full and hearty meal and not mere crumbs that fall.

On two principal among other points the Indians demand fulfilment of the Royal Pledge ; 1st, an adequate and reasonable share in the service of the State and in the administration of the country. The grant of this demand is refused or delayed on the allegation of want of fitness both moral and intellectual on the part of the Indians. Let us examine the accuracy and fairness of such an allegation. If the people are allowed fair play and trial and then found wanting, they will have no reasonable complaint of their claims for high and lucrative posts of the State being overlooked. There is positive evidence to prove that Indians are not allowed fair play and arbitrary restrictions have been placed in the way of their fairly competing with Europeans. The fact that Mr., now, Sir Henry Fowler, ex-Secretary of State for India, with his liberal instincts could be prevailed upon by bad logic and worse misrepresentation of the Government of India to practically annul the Resolution of the House of Commons regarding simultaneous Examination in India as well as in England for the Indian Civil Service goes to show that a deliberate verdict of the great Representative Assembly of Great Britain counts for nothing against the ruling of the Indian autocracy. As a matter of fact, so far as trial has been made and Indians have been appointed to positions of respectability, it is freely acknowledged that they have satisfied all expectations and have discharged their duties with ability and integrity. What the Duke of Argyll has called

the still more important point than that of efficiency even, namely, how the pledge of the British monarch and British statesmen to equality of treatment could be fulfilled, was completely ignored. No more valuable branch of enquiry than this can be imagined if equity is to mark English rule in India. The loss to Europeans of some places in the covenanted service is nothing compared to the reputation of Englishmen for good faith. "I would sacrifice Gwalior or any frontier of India ten times over," said the Duke of Wellington in 1802, "in order to preserve our character for scrupulous good faith." For the sake of the fair fame of England, and the honour and integrity of true Britons, the British Parliament should not abdicate their noble function placing the Indian people at the tender mercies of a bureaucratic clique. As there is abundant evidence that the educated Indians have satisfied the condition laid down in the Royal Proclamation as to ability and integrity, there is no pretext whatever to ignore or overlook their claims to be placed on a footing of perfect equality with Europeans in the matter of the service of the State. It has been declared by no less an authority than the late Lord Chancellor the Earl of Selborne that in every instance in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the native judgments in civil cases are quite as good as those of English judges. When recommendations are made for appointing Indians to judicial posts, there seems to be an idea underlying the proposal that this branch of the service chiefly demands those intellectual qualities in which they excel ; whereas the executive branch demands qualities other than intellectual such as energy, decision, self-reliance, power of combination and organisation, of managing men and so forth which are deemed to be qualities as yet imperfectly developed in Indians. Therefore it seems to be thought better to refrain from placing them in the higher class of executive posts which according to this view ought to be reserved almost exclusively for Europeans. The Indians are

assumed to be unfit to have charge of districts ; it is convenient to assume that all Englishmen are cool and wise in danger, while no Indians are so and that consequently only Englishmen and no Indians are competent to be trusted with independent charge.

"By a process of the grossest self-adulation," says Sir Henry Cotton, "we persuade ourselves to believe that natives are only useful as ministerial servants but that the work of a district, if it is to be done at all, demands the supervision of an English officer. The truth, however, is that the natives as of course they must be, are the backbone of our administration. The burden and heat of the day are already borne by the native subordinates and in the event (as occasionally must be the case) of an incompetent European being in charge of a district, the whole of the work is done by his native deputies and clerks."

As to the Indian claim to military training and service, it ought to be decided by the teachings of history and state necessity. The Mogul Emperors adopted heartily and completely the policy of trust. Akbar's greatest generals and most devoted adherents were Hindus. The Rajput chivalry was the main bulwark of the Moghul throne. The British Government on the contrary has adopted a policy of suspicion ; the officers of the native army are only superannuated old privates who, by virtue of their long service, draw larger pay and are permitted to sit down idle in the presence of an English subaltern. The Government can expect no assistance from such men and it gets none. The Russians can get from the territories they have absorbed in Central Asia an Alikhanoff or a Lares Milikoff. The English Government can only produce men who rise to the rank of Naik Havildar or Resaldar or to some other subordinate post. The first step towards the organisation of the army is to increase the pay and power of the Indian officers, to afford some scope to their abilities and to raise them to a level with English officers. The object is to

attract into the army the gentlemen and aristocracy of India. The creation of Cadet Corps composed of the scions of the Native Chiefs has served decorative or ornamental rather than any useful purpose, as they have not been placed in independent charge of any regiment. Just as the Rajputs and the Mussalmans under the Moguls formed separate armies with their national chiefs and inspired by rivalry distinguished themselves by feats of valour which are still remembered, so the Indian armies, if officered by their trained national leaders, would, animated by a similar emulation, display equal valour and hardihood in fighting for a common cause. Another method of substituting for the existing body of mercenary troops in the English army, a patriotic and national band, is the permission earnestly solicited by the Indians to volunteer. The agitation in favour of volunteering has been set on foot and is sustained entirely by the educated Indians. It is primarily the outcome of an honourable feeling that as they ask for a larger share in the administration, and to be allowed to exercise the privileges and rights of citizens, so they ought not to shrink from their national duty but this feeling is also allied with others equally honourable. The most loyal and disinterested of such feelings is a pride in association with a noble empire like that over which His Majesty King-Emperor George V presides, and a desire to share in its glories by being numbered among its defenders.

As to the second question of our enquiry, *viz.*, the desirability of allowing the people of India to participate largely in the administration of the country, it can only be satisfactorily solved by subordinating politics to morals. "We accept," says Sir Henry Cotton" the fundamental doctrine of modern social life, the subordination of politics to morals. We claim to test our political action by moral considerations, allowing that for the State as well as for individuals, it is the question not of rights but of duties that must take precedence. These are the new principles we

have to offer in substitution for the worn-out ideas which have previously been employed. This, therefore, is our policy of reconstruction. The policy of the future which is based alike on the duty of England and on the need of India—on the devotion which is due from a strong nation to a weak and oppressed people—must be a policy of mutual self-sacrifice, voluntary restitution, and disinterested moderation."

The most paramount consideration for broadening the basis of the Indian Government is that England as a civilised power must pursue a righteous policy. Do Englishmen want to rule India righteously, do they want her necessities, her prosperity, the welfare, the progress, the happiness of her people to be the first consideration ; or do they really desire that her highest interests should be sacrificed to the exigencies of party warfare in England and her prosperity subordinated to the aggrandisement of a section of their privileged classes ? If they want this, then they have no reason to boast of their superiority to other people. But we have too elevated an opinion of Englishmen untrammelled by bureaucratic influence prevailing in India to think them capable of entertaining such dishonorable motives. The origin of our agitation for extended political rights which is highly constitutional and conducted in a loyal, though firm, spirit, is to be traced to our firm faith in the liberal instincts and a high sense of honour and justice of the British people. We firmly believe that they will not allow mere political considerations to override the superior consideration of morals.

The British Government in India to be permanent must be based upon moral force. No extensive historical lore is required to know the truth of the statement that no empire, whatever its superiority in material force over the nation subject to its sway, has ever yet endured by it alone. Reflecting upon the fall and decline of the historic empires of the world, we see that the causes of their decay and extinction lie upon the surface. They were founded upon

violence ; they fell because they depended upon material instead of moral force. And who that has but the most superficial knowledge of the history of the English colonies, does not know how fatal to the mother-country would have been the attempt to keep them in the leading-strings of their infancy ? Blind to facts that are as clear as noon-day sun, Englishmen nurse in India the fond delusion that here at least they shall be able to defy the uniform teaching of past times and the moral of everyday event of the last half a century. They can hold India by moral force for all time, while to contemplate the holding of it by any other means is treason against the human race. Rome tried and failed. Green's History of England contains a vivid description as to how the wealth of the subject race grew, and how everything disappeared as a dream when the central despotic Government of Rome at last fell by its own weight. He tells us finally how men had forgotten to fight for their country when they forgot how to govern it under a system that crushed all local independence and with it all local vigour. As we read the story we might well suppose that Green was describing English rule of India to-day, and not the history of England, under institutions that crushed all local independence and all idea of self-government and self-defence out of the people. English Officials in India are swayed by two and only two restraining influences, one is a sense of duty and the other is the avoidance of a great disturbance. There can be no doubt that the sense of duty (combined with the disinclination to excite tumult) operates largely and effectively in the breasts of European officials or things would long ago have been much worse than they are. Unfortunately ideas of duty vary and it cannot be desirable that interested parties alone should be the sole judges as to the course which duty prescribes. The Honourable East India Company was held strictly accountable. The renewal of its Charter was dependent upon the conduct of its affairs as disclosed on a stringent review at stated periods. Can it

be doubted that the prospect of such a review tended infinitely to make it consider its ways at every step and hold a tight rein over its representatives throughout India? Where is the control now? More than a generation has passed since 1858 and not only has there been no periodical review of the administration of India but there has been no controlling prospect of such a review. That the tendency has been to weaken the sense of responsibility and to tempt every official to do what seems right in his own eyes, is not to be gainsaid. The evils of autocratic power do not require demonstration. The Secretary of State's Council, though no doubt useful in many ways, has outlived the temporary purposes of its institution. It inevitably represents an older generation of Indian experience, and the feelings of its members are inextricably interwoven with the interests of individual Civilians still in harness. Its opinions are overridden and few people know and no body cares for. It has no hold on the Secretary of State or on Parliament or on the people. The appointment of two Indians as its members has not tended to mend matters much as they are in a hopeless minority. The Secretary of State for India, not having firsthand knowledge of that dependency and there being no procedure of action for being acquainted with its people and affairs through an independent and impartial channel of communication, is driven to the necessity of relying on the men on the spot and leaving them to have their own way. One of two remedies for such an unsatisfactory state of things suggests itself to us : either the formation of India as a constituency of the British Parliament for representing her interests in it, or the establishment of self-government in India under the salutary control and guidance of the Government. The former course being thought practically inconvenient and undesirable on account of the immense distance of the situation of the controlling power in England and of the governing agency to be controlled in India, the latter is indispensably necessary in the interests of good and useful Govern-

ment. Among the frivolous and trumpery objections raised by the officials and Government apologists to the grant of such a privilege, two only require any examination. The first is that the Indians being a heterogenous people divided into numerous races, creeds and castes, there cannot be a thorough and impartial representation of their interests in the proposed self-governing Councils as none but a limited number of the educated classes will sit in them and deliberate over their resolutions and debates. The second objection is that India has not as yet attained that progressive stage in her civilisation in which she can be deemed fit for being trusted with the grave responsibilities and duties of representative Government. As to the first objection, it is a gratuitous assumption that the educated Indians only look to their own interests and not to those of the masses or the people at large. The resolutions of the Indian National Congress for the last quarter of a century in the composition of which the educated element is predominant, give a lie direct and an emphatic contradiction to such an unfounded and malicious charge. The object of the educated Indians for ventilating the grievances of their fellow countrymen through such powerful organs as Clubs and Public Associations, Newspapers and Pamphlets, Magazines and Books, &c., is not self-aggrandisement but the removal of such grievances and the formulation of sound and salutary principles of good Government of India. It is admitted on all hands that knowledge of the real wants and requirements of the governed is a *sine qua non* of such Government. And as the educated Indians are certainly better acquainted with the needs of India than their alien rulers, the conclusion logically and strongly forces itself upon us that the former are better judges of and more competent to represent, Indian interests than the latter. If representative institutions have been found necessary in Colonies whose identity of creed, race and customs, enables the rulers to grasp intuitively the needs of the ruled, how

doubly are they indispensable in India, where fundamental differences in nationality, religion, and culture, debar the governors from ever effectively realising the real wants and wishes of the Indian people.

As to the second objection that the time has not come for conceding to the popular demand for representative Government in India, it may be replied that the time will never come unless opportunities for a fair trial are afforded. It is only by practical training that the people can prove their fitness. For men can never be free unless they are educated to freedom. And this is not the education to be found in schools or gained from books, but it is that which consists in self-discipline, self-reliance and in self-Government. Lord Ripon justly urged on behalf of his own scheme of Local self-Government that it would be an instrument of political education. And it may be as truly said that if England desires to eventually establish an independent Government in India she can only do so by training the people to a sense of self-help and self-reliance through familiarity with the details of executive work. Add to this the fact, that English education has to a great extent resulted in the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge, the dissemination of enlightened views and the promotion of general progress of the country.

To English education are due the successful administration of the self-governing institutions by its recipients, the highly intelligent and able part taken by the elected non-official members in the transaction of business both of the old and the new enlarged Legislative Councils, the great ability with which the Grand Old Man of India acquitted himself in the British House of Commons, the golden opinions won by the two Indian gentlemen lately appointed as Members of the Secretary of State's Council, by Mr. S. P. Sinha as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and by the Right Honorable Mr. Amir Ali as a Judge of the Privy Council, and last though not least, the high standard of

success achieved by certain educated Indians as administrators of several of the Native States. The foregoing facts and observations conclusively prove that the time has come when the introduction of popular representation into the constitution of the Indian Government is within the range of practical politics. By thus broadening the basis of Government, the Ruling Power would gain in more ways than one. The administration would be cheapened without impairing its efficiency. Taxation with adequate representation being a normal and liberal form of administration, the tax-payers would more cheerfully bear its burden if they were allowed a potential voice as to how their contribution should be expended. There would be less room for complaint of mal-administration, if the responsibilities of Government were fairly shared by the governors and the governed. Above all, the control of expenditure by the people's representatives would result in diminishing, if not altogether removing, Indian poverty which is phenomenal and the source of endless suffering to a high percentage of the Indian people. Of the expenditure requiring to be curtailed, Military and Home Charges, expenses of the Public Works Department, &c., are the big items. If these could be brought within reasonable and absolutely necessary limits, a great improvement would take place in the material condition of the people. But so long as the rage for extravagance continues unabated, India cannot hope to prosper. Not to speak of India, even a rich country would ill-stand a perpetual drain of its resources and their diversion from legitimate to improper and unreasonable purposes due to a disregard of economic laws. Such heavy drain and diversion, and the expenses of a costly alien administration grafted upon the simple institutions of the people which they can ill-afford to bear, are the outcome of a suicidal policy which can scarcely find justification in the name of civilisation. Apart from solemn pledges given on behalf of justice and equality, it is forgotten that India and England have become one for good ; that neither of them could possibly

do so well without the other ; that this connection is to be maintained in the interests not only of the two countries but of the British Empire at large. By all means have a fair return for your work and your risks ; India is rich enough, if fairly treated, to repay and perhaps more than repay the cost of her administration. Unfortunately Government has failed to preserve invariably a sound equilibrium between income and expenditure allowing the latter to outrun the former thereby bringing the State to the verge of bankruptcy. Occasional Budget surpluses do not indicate the natural and normal growth of national prosperity as they are mostly due to fresh taxation and artful dexterity in manipulating the figures of the annual financial estimate. We have in the foregoing pages given authentic and well-established facts in proof of the manifold sufferings and hardships of the Indian people and suggested practical and reasonable methods of their removal. Edmund Burke recognised as the object of Government, not the preservation of particular institutions, or the propagation of particular tenets, but the happiness of the people entrusted to its charge. This happiness can only be secured so far as India is concerned by giving full effect to the Royal Pledge of even-handed justice to, and equality of treatment of, the Indian people with other subjects of the Crown irrespective of considerations for creed, caste or colour. And the best means of redeeming that pledge would be the subordination of State policy or expediency to moral considerations in governing England's great dependency.

THE TRUE VOCATION OF WOMEN.

IN order to judge of this question it is necessary to compare the domestic life of the East with that of the West so as to see which affords the best example of a model woman. We should also note the defects, if any, in both the systems and suggest remedies for their removal. To know a people thoroughly and accurately we must have a clear insight into their inner as well as their outward life. In the former their character and disposition manifest themselves in their natural and unaffected light, as they are then off their guard and under less restraint. In the latter a certain degree of caution and formality is observed, presenting rather the apparent than the real side of character. To judge people, therefore, by observing how they conduct themselves in their social and public relations only, or in their domestic and private relations only, can lead only to an imperfect and one-sided estimate. Conduct in the one relation, which may appear odd and unaccountable can be understood only by referring it to, and tracing its origin from, conduct in the other relation. In order to obtain a complete view of life, its ins and outs should be observed. To a people like the Bengalees among whom the *purdah* custom obtains, the foregoing observations are strictly applicable. Europeans who have no opportunities of looking through the *purdah* and studying their inner life, can form but a partial opinion as to the real character of the Bengalees. If to this disadvantage is added an unhappy frame of mind, looking down upon a conquered nation, it utterly disqualifies them from doing them justice by portraying them faithfully. This accounts for the serious blunders into which even some eminent English writers have fallen. In order to arrive at a just conception of the true position of women in the Hindu society which is typical of the East, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the nature

of Hindu marriage laws. With the Hindu the marriage tie is indissoluble. Marriage in Hindu Law is not merely a contract but also a sacrament ; and the rights and duties of the married parties are determined solely by that law, and are incapable of being varied by any agreement between them. With the exception of the cases provided for by legislative enactments and case-law the Hindu marriage creates an indissoluble bond which is a sound basis of abiding interest, strong affection, and religious culture of the married parties. The Hindu wife is called *Sahadharmini i.e.*, a partner with her husband in religious observances. Marriage according to the Hindu Shastras is regarded as a sacred institution conferring an equality of *status* on the wife with the husband, considering her necessary for the attainment of the noblest objects of life, and not for the purpose of mere carnal satisfaction, and enjoining upon the son a holy mission of attending to the spiritual welfare of his parents and strengthened by so many chords of domestic felicity, religious sanctity, and agreeable prospects, is seldom allowed to be sundered by caprices and whims, temporary inconveniences or untoward circumstances difficult to avoid even in the most respectable families. No doubt an Indian woman is kept under constant tutelage, first of her father, then of her husband and lastly of her son. But is she treated as a slave or menial drudge ? Certainly not. Her labour is a labour of love ; she prefers the comfort and happiness of her parents, husband and children to her own. Self-denial, patient endurance, economy, simplicity, modesty, tenderness and sincere affection are the prominent features of her character. A European woman generally presents a reverse picture to this. She is more mindful of her own comfort and convenience than that of her husband, parents and children. She does not scruple to desert them if she takes to a second husband on divorce. She is more conventional and formal than sincere and frank in her affection as compared with her Eastern sister. She is also less sympathetic, simple and

economical. "The domestic life of the Hindu," says Sir Henry Cotton, "is, indeed, in itself, not more immoral than that of a European home. Far from it ; there is so much misconception on this point, that it is desirable to state what the facts actually are. The affection of Hindus for the various members of the family group is a praiseworthy and distinctive feature of national character, evinced not in sentiment only, but in practical manifestations of enduring charity ; the devotion of a parent to a child, and of children to parents, is most touching. The normal social relations of a Hindu family, knitted together by ties of affection, rigid in chastity, and controlled by the public opinion of neighbouring elders and caste, command our admiration, and in many respects, afford an example we should do well to follow."

Mrs. Carmen Sylva deals with the subject in question in the June number of the *National Review*. Alike in the natural and the spiritual world the true vocation of woman is simply motherhood. This, she is convinced, is her high calling with which she may remain content. But it has come to pass of late that women strive to manifest their mental powers in other kinds of work. The material aspect of life has grown more complicated in our day, and it is a great pity that they cannot return to the simplicity of former times. After all, country life would always be the true ideal, to pass one's days peacefully on one's own land, whose produce should suffice for simple, wholesome food, to allow the style of one's dress to be regulated rather by one's own artistic taste and regard for health and comfort than by the dictates of fashion, and undisturbed by the noise and bustle of the crowd. What a contrast to this idyllic picture does the world at this moment present, with people herded together in great cities, and cooped up in monstrously overcrowded houses within narrow streets, where they can hardly drink in a breath of fresh air nor see a leaf growing, but where each one instead of giving his thoughts to higher things, is generally busied

with his neighbour's affairs. How fair this world might yet become under the beneficent sway of women of high breeding and noble culture, did they but earnestly give up their whole souls to the task of making their influence felt to the most remote circles. But the women of the present day seem disposed to descend from their lofty pedestal. Women should never forget that they stand on a superior level, and when they place themselves on an equality with man they do but descend from those heights. It is not too much to say, that in all times and places, and under all circumstances so ever, a truly womanly woman will hardly fail to obtain proper deference from men. And if the latter sometimes assume too lordly an air towards the weaker sex that is perhaps altogether unintentional. For men are in some respects just like children, who are quite unconsciously the greatest tyrants to those they love best.

NATURAL THEOLOGY.

ACCORDING to Professor M'Cosh, natural theology is the science, which from our investigation of the works of nature, would rise to a discovery of the character and will of God and of the relation in which man stands to Him. The four natural sources from which the human mind derives its idea of the Divine Being are : (1) the order and adaptation exhibited in the material works of God, (2) the relations which the physical world bears to man which we call the providential arrangements of the Divine Government, (3) the human soul with its consciousness, its intelligence and its benign feelings, (4) the moral qualities of man, *i.e.*, the conscience. Viewed separately the arguments drawn from these sources are not all conclusive ; one may be considered perhaps merely as suggestive and another as confirmatory, one as the proof of the existence of God and another as an illustration of the possession of certain attributes. Each class of objects furnishes its quota of evidence. The physical works of God give indications of power and skill. The providence of God exhibits a governing and controlling energy. Our spiritual nature lifts us to the conception of a living, personal and spiritual God.

The first three classes of objects as bringing before us nature, animate and inanimate, and the relation between them, establish the benevolence as well as the wisdom of God. The phenomena which prove the existence of God, also demonstrate that He delights in the happiness of His creatures. For it is conceivable that the world might have been filled with adaptations as wonderful as any of the existing ones, but all of them of a diametrically opposite character. It requires an observation of the whole of these four classes of objects to convey a full and adequate idea of the divine character. Leave out the first, and we have no elevating idea of the divine skill and intelligence. Sink the

second out of sight, and the God that we acknowledge cannot be distinguished from the universe. Leave out the third and He becomes a brute unconscious force or at least a mere name for an aggregate of laws and developments. Discard the fourth class of objects and we strip Him of some of the very brightest rays of His glory, and leave a physical without a moral power, and a weak beneficence unguarded by justice. Religion, as defined by Dr. Robert Flint, is man's communion with what he believes to be a God or Gods ; his sense of relationship to, and dependence on, a higher and mysterious agency, with all the thoughts, emotions and actions which proceed therefrom. Thought, feeling and will—knowledge, affection and self-surrender are admitted to be indissolubly united, inseparably present, in religion even by those who will not admit them to be all its essential constituents. When we always find certain elements together and can neither discover nor imagine them apart, we have no right to represent some of them as essential to the compound into which they enter and others as non-essential. They are all essential. But knowledge plays a very important part in the conception and development of religion. The importance of feeling and will in religion is in no respect questioned or denied when it is maintained that religion cannot be a reasonable process, a healthy condition of mind if constituted by either feeling or volition separate from knowledge. Then however true it may be that short of the action of the will in the form of the self-surrender of the soul to the object of its worship, the religious process is essentially imperfect, this self-surrender cannot be independent of reason and yet reasonable. In order to be a legitimate act, it must spring out of good affections,—and these affections must be enlightened ; they must rest on the knowledge of an object worthy of them, and worthy of the self-surrender to which they prompt. It is only in a theistic religion that whatever in religion is fitted to satisfy the reason and affections of man and strengthen and guide his will, can find its proper development. Theism is

the doctrine that the universe owes its existence and continuance in existence to the reason and will of a self-existing Being who is infinitely powerful, wise and good. The religion of a people colours its entire civilisation ; its action may be traced to industry, art, literature, science and philosophy in all their stages.. It has seemed to some that morality rests on religion and cannot exist apart from it. And almost all who believe that there are religious truths which men as reasonable beings, are bound to accept, will be found maintaining that although morality may be independent of religion for its mere existence, a morality unsupported by religion would be insufficient to satisfy the wants of the personal and social life. Without religion, they maintain, man would not be able to resist the temptations and support the trials of his lot and would be cut off from the source of his loftiest thoughts, the richest and purest enjoyments, and his most heroic deeds. They further maintain that without religion nations would be unprogressive, selfish, diseased, corrupt, unworthy of life and incapable of long life. It will not be denied indeed by any one, that religious belief influences moral practice. Both reason and history make doubt on this point impossible. The convictions of a man's heart as to the supreme object of his reverence, and as to the ways in which he ought to show his reverence thereof, necessarily affect for good or evil his entire mind and conduct. The whole moral life takes a different colour according to the religious light which falls upon it. Again, character has an influence on creed,—the state of a man's feeling determines to a considerable extent the nature of his beliefs—badness of heart is often the cause of perversity of judgment.

Not only morality, but science is intimately connected with religion. No scientific man can be credited with much insight who does not perceive that scientific theory has an intimate and influential bearing upon religion. "While a slight taste of philosophy," says Bacon, "may dispose the mind to indifference to religion, deeper draughts must bring it back to

it ; while on the threshold of philosophy where second causes appear to absorb the attention, some oblivion of the highest cause may ensue, when the mind penetrates deeper, and sees the dependence of causes and the works of providence, it will easily perceive, according to the allegory of the poets, that the highest links of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair."

We are indebted to science for the explanation of all phenomena so indispensably necessary to the solution of religious problems. Granting that no religious theory of the world can be accepted which contradicts the results established by the sciences, are we not free to ask and even bound to ask—Do these results not, separately and collectively, imply a religious theory of the world, and the particular religious theory it may be, which is called theism ? Are the results not the expression of a unity and order in the world which can only be explained on the supposition that material nature, organic existence, the mind and heart of man, society and its history, have originated in a power, wisdom and goodness not their own which still upholds them and works in and through them ?

The higest form of religion must be a theistic religion—a religion in which the one personal and perfect God is the object of worship. Fetichism, nature-worship, humanitarian polytheism and pantheism are very lower forms of religion, and therefore to abandon theism for any one of them is not to advance but to retrograde, is not to rise but to fall. Of these forms only pantheism requires criticism, for nature-worship and polytheism are not irreconcilable with the unity and almighty character of God, the numerous gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon being the symbolical representation of the attributes of one Supreme and Absolute Creator of matter and mind intended for rising from Nature to Nature's God or for conceiving His glory and goodness through the medium of an image. Pantheism stands upon a different footing. It denies that the one Infinite Being is a

person—is a free, holy and loving intelligence. It represents our consciousness of freedom and sense of responsibility as illusions. God according to Pantheism alone is. All individual existences are merely His manifestations—all our deeds whether good or bad, are His actions ; and yet, while all is God and God is all, there is no God who can hear us and understand us—no God to love us or care for us—no God able or willing to help us. Pantheism represents absorption in Deity, the losing of self in God as the highest good of humanity ; but this is a mere caricature of that idea of communion with God in which religion must find its realisation, as Pantheism leaves neither a self to surrender nor a personal God to whom to surrender it. The absorption of the finite in the infinite which Pantheism preaches is as different from the surrender of the soul to God dwelling in us and we in God, as night is from day, as death is from life.

Comte strives to represent humanity and Strauss the universe as a god by imaginatively investing them with attributes which do not inherently and properly belong to them ; but with all their efforts they can only make of them fetich gods. Comte himself did not believe that we can worship humanity in any but a partial and insincere way. If we could properly worship humanity, would our worship do either our minds or hearts more good than the worship of Jupiter and Juno did the Greeks of old ? Again, can we revere the universe ? Is not that to go back to fetichism ? Might we not just as wisely and profitably adore a stock or stone ? Positivism and materialism are not stages beyond theism, for they are not on the same road. They are not phases in the development of religion ; they are forms of the denial of religion. The grossest fetichism has more of religion in it than either of them can consistently claim on scientific grounds. There is nothing in science, properly so called, which justifies the exaltation either of matter or man to the rank of gods even of the lowest fetich order,

Herbert Spencer would present to us for God the unknowable. But what thoughts, what feelings can we have about the unknowable ? Might we not as well worship empty space, the eternal no or the absolute nothing ? Mr. Darwin and his followers profess to prove that all the order of organic nature may have been unintentionally originated by the mechanical operations of natural forces. They think they can explain how from a few simple forms or even from a simple primordial cell, the entire vegetable and animal kingdoms with all their harmonies and beauties have arisen wholly and independent of any ordaining and presiding mind by means of the law of heredity that like produces like. They assure us that the laws which they claim to have proved are in themselves a disproof of design ; but they somehow forget that it is incumbent on them to bestow the labour requisite to make this manifest. They reason as if it were almost or wholly self-evident, whereas a little more thought would show them that all their laws imply mind and purpose.

Let us now describe the theistic process as to the knowledge of God. Of all knowledge, the knowledge of God is or at least ought to be the most progressive. And that for this simple reason that every increase of other knowledge—be it the knowledge of outward nature or of the human soul or of history—be it the knowledge of truth or beauty or goodness—ought also to increase our knowledge of Him. The proofs for the existence of God coincide with the grounds for the belief in God ; they are simply the real grounds of the belief established and expounded in a scientific manner. Such proofs must be, in fact simply His own manifestations ; the way in which He makes Himself known ; the phenomena on which His power and character are imprinted. They can neither be, properly speaking, our reasonings nor our analyses of the principles involved in our reasonings. It is through bearing the image of God that we are alone able to apprehend God. Take any essential feature of that image out of a human soul, and to apprehend God is thereby made impossi-

ble to it. All that is divine in us meets, unites, co-operates to lay hold of what is divine without us. Hence the fuller and clearer the divine image is in any man, the fuller and clearer will be his perception of the divine original. "Our entire spiritual being," says Dr. Robert Flint, "is constituted for the apprehension of God in and through His works. All the essential principles of mental action when applied to the meditative consideration of finite things, lead up from them to infinite creative wisdom. The whole of nature external to us is a revelation of God ; the whole of nature within us has been made for the reception and interpretation of that revelation."

In conclusion it may be remarked that the conception of any other than Infinite God—a God unlimited in all perfections—is not only a self-contradictory but an unworthy conception ; it not only perplexes the intellect but revolts the spiritual affections. The heart can find no secure rest except on an Infinite God. If less than omnipotent, He may be unable to help us in the hour of sorest need. If less than omniscient, He may overlook us. If less than perfectly just we cannot unreservedly trust Him. The whole soul can only be devoted to one who is believed to be absolutely good.

NECESSARY STEPS FOR PROMOTING THE BEST INTERESTS OF INDIA

WITHOUT attempting to confine the operation of several causes which have brought about India's awakening to a single source, whether it is due to the benevolent rule of India, the infusion of new life and spirit into the discussion of questions affecting India's vital interests or to the greatest of all innovations—Time—it is as clear as noon-day light that a new era of social, religious, economic and political revival has dawned upon India. The success of social reforms depends upon the observance of certain rules or principles of action. The well-being of society being the principal end to be attained by social reforms, only such reforms are salutary as tend to promote that end. In other words, interference with existing customs is only justifiable when it clearly appears that these are obnoxious and that adherence to them tends to do harm to society. Reforms to be salutary should be brought about in a spirit of earnestness, having regard to the actual necessities of the situation and not in that of mere innovation. Incompatibility with the existing circumstances and conditions of the society is a good ground for interference. Reforms, should, as far as practicable, proceed from within and not from without. The dissemination of enlightened views as a consequence of liberal education, and not any legislative enactment—an imperative demand in the interests and as the outcome of sound education and not any extraneous influence—is the normal condition of genuine social reform. The movement for the revival of Hinduism can only succeed if it is conducted in the spirit of the teachings of the Vedas, the Vedanta philosophy, the Upanishads and the Geeta, adopting what is morally good and conducive to human happiness and eschewing what is morally bad and productive of human misery. If, on the

contrary, the promoters of the movement attempt to revive Hinduism with all its superstitious and pernicious practices and rites prevalent in a bygone and backward age which are not only not adapted to the present altered condition of Hindu society, but conflict, on essential points, with the religion taught in the above-mentioned original scriptures of the Hindus, their mission is bound to fail.

The industrial revival, inaugurated by the Swadeshi movement, has been a step in the right direction. It has succeeded so far through good report and evil report and in spite of arbitrary obstacles put in the way of its progress. The Government has declared its intention in favour of 'honest Swadeshism,' but has no love lost for the boycott of British goods. As Swadeshism and boycott are, so to speak, twin sisters, one fails to see any marked distinction between them. They have sprung up from the same motive force, and are intended to attain the same end *viz.*, the preference of indigenous to imported foreign goods. At the same time the violent and vindictive element in the boycott movement which is a coercive process akin to that which we so loudly complain of in some of the unpopular measures of Government, should be discreetly eliminated from the movement.

As to the political improvement of the country, it mainly depends upon substituting a popular representative system of Government for the system of administration in which the people have no effective voice. It is an acknowledged principle of good government that the main and sole object of the rulers should be to secure the happiness and contentment of the people entrusted to their charge. If there is one thing which at the present moment and since some time past, has created serious anxiety to the Government and the existence of which is admitted on all hands, it is the general prevailing want of the people. Government instead of probing it and ascertaining its true cause, took a leap in the dark and applied a quack remedy with a view to put it down with a high hand. But has it succeeded in doing so? The scientific and the

most potent remedy is to liberalise and broaden the Government. And this is a crying want considering the unfamiliarity of an alien Government with the real wants and wishes of a heterogeneous people like those of India.

The attempt to crush the newly awakened idea of political freedom is as idle and vain an effort as to prevent the onrushing of the swelling tide by an imperial *fiat*. For instance, the Swadeshi movement has taken a firm and deep root in the soil. It is destined to succeed, if it has not succeeded already, and is bound to march onward in the path of progress in spite of any amount of obstacles placed in its way. The Government, therefore, should make a virtue of necessity by helping forward a movement which it is powerless to retard or stop in violation of its time-honoured principles of liberalism and constitutionalism. Moreover, it is the bounden duty of Government to afford protection to the local industries of India in their nascent condition. The late drastic measures to stop the further progress of the Swadeshi-cum-boycott movement under the cloak of restoring peace and order in the land, are inconsistent with the principles of political economy as well as those of even-handed justice which is the principal feature in the Queen's Proclamation. But if Government desires to encourage honest Swadeshism, as it professes to do, and its past repressive measures are really meant to curb a contemptuous and defiant attitude of a certain section of the educated community towards the powers that be, manifested in their alleged seditious writings and speeches, then all that can be said is that the game is not worth the candle. Government should be tolerant enough to the tempestuous outburst of wounded feelings which loudly cry more for mercy than vengeance. Experience has confirmed the truth of the proposition that neither the repressive measures of the Government nor a violent and vindictive attitude of a subject people towards their all-powerful rulers will be of any use towards the settlement of the unrest or removal of the discontent in the country which, however,

has now happily abated by putting in operation the Reform scheme leavening the constitution of the Legislative Councils with a large Indian element. Principle and not fear—fair play and not fury—is the most important factor in the Indian administration. The people of India in their present stage of civilisation and educational progress are quite fit to enjoy autonomy in the Empire. But they should put their house in order to enable them to retain their power permanently and enjoy their rights and privileges without any civil commotion. The best training ground for learning the art of self-government is the actual exercise of its rights and responsibilities. But if any time is wanted for the necessary preliminary preparation and organisation, we believe a quarter of a century will be quite sufficient for the purpose. The question of time will depend upon the co-operation and support of the Government to fit the people for the enjoyment of the privilege which affects alike the stability of the Empire and the welfare of the people. Such stability can be best secured when it is based upon the affection of the people.

Instead of calling in question such affection and trying to root out imaginary or real disaffection by outstretching the long arm of the law of sedition, Government should remove the matter and the causes of such disaffection by multiplying the resources of the people, utilising their intellectual and moral qualities combined with a personal knowledge of their real wants and wishes by establishing an autonomy in the Empire.

Lord Crewe's pronouncement in the House of Lords that India will never be fit for self-government is highly impolitic and uncalled for. It gives a rude shock to the sentiments of the people of India who cherish the fond belief that our benign Government is always for encouraging and not for thwarting their legitimate aspirations. Perhaps the declaration was dictated by expediency deterring the people from attempting to introduce Home Rule in

India and relieving the government from the troubles it has been put to in connection with the Irish Home Rule.

The necessity of establishing representative government in India imposes certain duties alike upon the Government and the people. The former should not be wedded to a time-worn system under which the ruled are treated as children fit only to be led by leading-strings ; the latter should not presume too much upon their ability and importance, should devote themselves to the constructive work of nationalism rather than to a mere destructive work of criticism of Government and its measures. The upbuilding of a nation chiefly consists in the social and moral, economic and political improvement. These factors are interdependent and mutually cooperative. A people must attain to a definite standard of civilisation in order to deserve the enjoyment of the full measure of the rights and privileges of full citizenship. They must be materially rich and morally and socially advanced for the purpose of effective self-government. Again the people must have a potential voice in the administration of their country in order to improve their social status and promote their material and moral improvement. The Swadeshi movement is a perfectly legitimate and necessary step to afford that protection to the nascent local industries of India which it is the bounden duty of the Government to do. The economic improvement of the country is well calculated to be effected in a great measure by this patriotic enterprise. It is necessary that the rich and substantial Indians should invest their capital not so much in the purchase of landed property which is a source of endless litigation or in buying Government and other securities as in bringing out the potential wealth of the country by providing means for carrying on agricultural and industrial operations on modern improved methods. Similarly certain pernicious social practices and beliefs must be removed to enable the people to reach the full height of their physical and moral stature. They cannot be robust and

strong unless the practice of early marriage is done away with. The disintegrating influence of unnecessary and invidious caste-distinctions stands in the way of national unity on the broad principle of universal brotherhood of mankind. The interdiction against sea-voyage according to a misinterpretation of the Hindu Shastras, though happily it is not now seriously insisted upon, is still felt to be a stumbling block in the path of educated Hindus for obtaining valuable scientific knowledge and making original researches by residence in foreign civilised countries.

A blind faith in fatality tends to clog the springs of action and produce *inertia* and sloth. If thus by means of improvement in the several directions indicated above—methods of self-help and self-dependence requiring no Government help—the Indians become as physically and morally improved as can be desired ; if they are materially rich as they are unquestionably intellectually great, their political ascendancy will follow as a matter of course and without the necessity of either begging or blustering. Such ascendancy can only be durable and placed on a sound basis when the people enjoying it, have acted upon the cautious and prudent principle—first deserve and then desire. There can be no doubt that the Indians are in a position to enjoy self-government under British paramountcy, but the idea of taking off the reins of government entirely by the people must be held under present conditions to be Utopian and chimerical.

PROFESSOR HAECKEL ON THE SOUL.

PROFESSOR. Earnest Haeckel, the principal exponent in Germany of the Darwinian theory of evolution expressed his views on the soul in his lecture on the "Descent of man". After a lengthy review of the progress of scientific research in the subjects connected with the origin of the human race, he concluded by saying that it was certain that man was descended from apes. It is only regarding the details of genealogy of the human race that the opinions of scientists differ. It is easy to understand that our knowledge of our descent from apes is unpleasant to many people. Man is like the parvenu who resents all references to his obscure ancestors. Much more is known regarding the descent of man than about the evolution of the lower animals. The opponents of the evolutionary theory of human descent have been unable to prove that it is fallacious. So far as the configuration and structure of the body is concerned, there may be a general similarity between man and ape, but as regards the functions of the soul, supposing that the latter possesses them, there is a vast difference. But the Professor does not stop short by establishing a physical similarity between the two, but goes so far as to say that the human soul is no better than that of apes. In fact he denies that man has a soul and that the soul is immortal. "The soul is supposed," he says, "to have a divine origin. Those who believe this do not explain why the Almighty decided to create souls just at the time when man appeared in the animal life of the world. When those who believe in God say, "man is the image of God," we must remind them, on the contrary, that men have always conceived God according to their own conception of the ideal. Observation of the development of a child's soul shows that it has no connection with the Divine. The belief in the divine origin of the soul is closely connected with the belief in the immortality of the soul. The theory of the immortality of the soul is indefensible. The

idea of immortality is by no means universal as is often stated. The Ionic philosophers knew nothing of the immortality of the soul. The idea of immortality was no part of the Mosaic religion, but appeared after the period of the Israelites' exile. Plato and Aristotle introduced the theory of immortality. What is known as man's soul is contained in his cerebral matter. If the lowest types of the human race are compared with apes, the conclusion is inevitable that the difference between the human soul and the soul of apes is a matter of quality. The human soul and the soul of apes are absolutely identical in character."

The Professor further remarks that those who deny the immortality of the soul are accused of undermining the foundations of law, order and morality. This, we are told, is not true. Some of the greatest and noblest men, it is stated, such as Spinoza, Giordano, Bruno and Goethe did not believe in the immortality of the soul.

As to the Professor's remark that the Old Testament is silent about a future world, we would refer him to the Book of Samuel, 123 where the witch of Endor is stated as having raised up the spirit of that prophet after his death. So the older Bible far from confirming the Professor's theory clearly disproves it. The facts which point towards the termination of our present state of existence are connected with our physical nature, not with our mental. In physical life there is a progression of bodily development until maturity is reached after which there is a gradual decay. The body may be dismembered and the mind continue as active as before. During the infirmities of age when the recollection of the occurrences of the day is difficult, recollections of events threescore years old are indeed exact. Such facts point towards the probability of continued existence of the spirit apart from the body. The problem of the immortality of the soul which is the basis of morality depends for its solution on a consideration of 1st. the nature of the soul itself; 2nd. the nature of the Supreme Being. As remarked by Addison,

the soul, considered with its Creator, is like one of those mathematical lines called the asymptotes of the hyperbola that may draw nearer to the other for all eternity without a possibility of touching it. How can it enter into the thought of man that the soul which is capable of such immense perfection and of receiving new improvements to all eternity, shall fall away into nothing almost as soon as it is created? Are such abilities made for no purpose? A brute arrives at a point of perfection that he can never pass; in a few years he has all the endowments he is capable of; and were he to live ten thousand years more, he would be the same thing as he is at present. But can we believe a thinking being that is perpetually progressing and travelling from perfection to perfection after having just looked abroad into the works of its Creator and made a few discoveries of His infinite goodness, wisdom and power, must perish at its first setting out and in the very beginning of its enquiries? It can never have taken in its full measure of knowledge, has not time to subdue its passions, establish its soul in virtue and come up to the perfection of its nature before it is hurried off the stage. Would an infinitely wise Being make such glorious creatures for so mean a purpose? Can He delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such short-lived reasonable beings? Would He give us talents that are never to be exerted? How can we find wisdom which shines through all His works in the formation of man without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next and believing that the several generations of rational creatures which rise up and disappear in such quick succession are only to receive their rudiments of existence here and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate, where they may spread and flourish to all eternity? The Professor is mistaken in saying that Spinoza among others did not believe in the immortality of the soul. In the Cogita Metaphysica, Spinoza reasons thus:—“Since it clearly follows from the laws of nature that a substance can not

perish, either of itself or through any other created substance, as I have already, if I mistake not, abundantly proved, we are constrained to lay down that by the laws of nature, the soul is immortal. And on closer insight into the matter we shall be able most plainly to prove that it is immortal. For, as just shown, the immortality of the soul clearly follows from the laws of nature. Now the laws of nature are decrees of God revealed by natural light. Next the decrees of God are immortal, as we have shown. From all which we clearly conclude that God has made known to man the immutable will concerning the duration of the soul not only by revelation but also by natural light. Whence it is a most evident certainty that minds are immortal."

Ideas concerning the nature of God necessarily influence ideas respecting the nature of the soul. The Eastern Asiatics adopted the conception of an impersonal god and as regards the soul its necessary consequence, the doctrine of emanation and absorption. Thus the Vedic Theology is based on the acknowledgment of a universal spirit pervading all things. There is in truth but one Deity, the supreme spirit. He is of the same nature as the soul of man. Both the Vedas and the Institutes of Manu affirm that the soul is an emanation of the all-pervading Intellect, and that it is destined to be reabsorbed. They consider it to be without form and that visible nature with all its beauties and harmonies is only the shadow of God. In the Mundaka Upanishad (Chap. I. V, 1.) the soul is likened to an arrow intended to aim at Brahma. Attain the Supreme Being even as an arrow reaches the object aimed at. The relation of soul to God has been further likened to that of salt and water. As salt dissolves itself in water, so the soul in its state of salvation becomes one with God. The Bhagavat Geeta clearly lays down the immortality of the soul. The soul cannot be pierced by weapons, burnt by fire, dissolved by water or dried up by air. (Chap. II. V. 23). In other words, what is indestructible is immortal.

ANCIENT HINDU CIVILISATION EMBODIED IN SANSKRIT SACRED LITERATURE.

THE Theological, Philosophical, Literary and Scientific works of the ancient Hindus were all written in Sanscrit which have been characterised by Sir William Jones to be of a wonderful structure ; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either. From the Vedas to Manu Sanhita and from the latter to the Puranas, the change has been exactly in the same proportion as from the fragments of Numa to the Twelve Tables and from these to the works of Cicero. The primary doctrine of the Vedas is the unity of God. The three principal manifestations of the Deity (Brahma, Vishnu and Siva) with other personified attributes and energies are indeed mentioned, but the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system.

Manu's Code seems rather to be the work of a learned man designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindu institutions. On this supposition it would show the state of society as correctly as a legal code ; since it is evident that it incorporates the existing laws, and any alterations it may have introduced with a view to bring them up to its preconceived standard of perfection must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written. The moral duties are in one place distinctly declared to be superior to the ceremonial ones, but the general tendency of the Brahmin morality is rather towards innocence than active virtue and its main objects are to enjoy tranquillity and to prevent pain or evil to any sentient being. The principal aim of the ancient Hindu Civilisation has been to attain spiritual perfection. Simplicity in material life and richness in intellectual and spiritual life were its principal characteristics. Mr. Elphinstone's

History of India contains the following interesting account of the Hindus :—

"Of all ancient nations, the Egyptians are the one whom the Hindus seem most to have resembled ; it might be easier to compare them with the Greeks as painted by Homer who was nearly contemporay with the compilation of the code, and however inferior in spirit and energy as well as in elegance to that heroic race, yet on contrasting their law and form of administration, the state of arts of life and the general spirit of order and obedience to the laws, the Eastern nation seems clearly to have been in the more advanced stage of society. Their internal institutions were less rude ; their conduct to their enemies more humane, their general learning was much more considerable and in the knowledge of the being and nature of God they were already in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens. Yet the Greeks were polished by free communication with many nations and have recorded the improvements which they early derived from each ; while the Hindu civilisation grew up alone and thus acquired an original and peculiar character that continues to spread an interest over the higher stages of refinement to which its unaided efforts afterwards enabled it to attain. The union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

The Hindu religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of nature to theism and then declined in scepticism with the learned and man-worship with the vulgar.

The high order of ancient Hindu civilisation is manifest from the loftiest philosophical idea of the Deity contained

in the Upanishads summarised by Sankaracharjya and Ramanuja.

According to the former, whatever is, is in reality one; there truly exists only one Universal Being called Brahman or Paramatman, the highest Self. This Being is of an absolutely homogeneous nature ; is pure Being, or which comes to the samething, pure intelligence or thought. Intelligence or thought is not to be predicated of Brahman as its attribute but constitutes its substance ; Brahman is not a thinking being, but thought itself. It is absolutely destitute of qualities ; whatever qualities or attributes are conceivable, can only be denied of it. But if nothing exists but one absolutely simple Being, whence is the appearence of the world by which we see ourselves surrounded, and in which we ourselves exist as individual beings ? Brahman, the answer runs, is associated with a certain power called *Maya* or *Abidya* to which the appearance of this world is entirely due. This power cannot be called Being (*sat*) for Being is only Brahman ; nor can it be called non-being (*asat*) in the strict sense, for it at any rate produces the appearance of the world. It is in fact a principle of illusion ; the undefinable cause owing to which there seems to exist a material world comprehending distinct individual existences. Being associated with this principle of illusion, Brahman is enabled to project the appearance of the world, in the same way as a magician is able by his incomprehensible magical powers to produce illusory appearances of animate and inanimate beings. Maya thus constitutes the *upadana*, the material cause of the world, or if we wish to call attention to the circumstance, that Maya belongs to Brahman as a Sakti—we may say that the material cause of the world is Brahman in so far as it is associated with Maya. In this latter quality Brahman is more properly called *Iswara*, the Lord.

According to Ramanuja's account, there exists only one all-embracing Being called Brahman or the highest Self or the Lord. This Being is not destitute of attributes but

rather endowed with all imaginable auspicious qualities. It is not intelligence as Sankara maintains but intelligence is its chief attribute. The Lord is all-pervading, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-merciful ; his nature is fundamentally antagonistic to all evil. He contains within himself whatever exists. While, according to Sankara, the only reality is to be found in the non-qualified homogeneous highest Brahman which can only be defined as pure Being or thought, all plurality being a mere illusion ; Brahman according to this view comprises within itself distinct elements of plurality which all of them lay claim to absolute reality of one and the same kind. Whatever is presented to us by ordinary experience, *viz.*, matter in all its various modifications and the individual souls of different classes and degrees, are essential real constituents of Brahman's nature. Matter and soul (*achit* and *chit*) constitute, according to Ramanuja's terminology, the body of the Lord ; they stand to him in the same relation of entire dependence and subserviency in which the matter forming an animal or vegetable body stands to its soul or animating principle. Professor Max Muller differentiates the two systems of Vedic Philosophy propounded by Sankaracharya and Ramanuja thus —

Both systems teach *advaita*, *i. e.* ; non-duality or monism. There exist not several fundamentally distinct principles such as the *Prakriti* and the *Purusha* of the Sankhyas, but there exists only one all-embracing Being. While, however, the *advaita* taught by Sankara is a rigorous, absolute one, Ramanuja's doctrine has to be characterised *bisista advaita*, *i. e.*, qualified non-duality, non-duality with a difference. According to Sankara, whatever is, is Brahman, and Brahman itself is absolutely homogeneous, so that all difference and plurality must be illusory. According to Ramanuja also, whatever is, is Brahman ; but Brahman is not of a homogeneous nature, but contains within itself elements of plurality owing to which it truly manifests itself in a

diversified world. The world with its variety of natural forms of existence and individual souls is not unreal Maya but a real part of Brahman's nature, the body investing the universal Self. The Brahman of Sankara is in itself impersonal, a homogeneous mass of objectless thought. A personal God it becomes only through its association with the unreal principle of Maya, so that, strictly speaking, Sankara's personal God, his *Iswara*, is himself something unreal. Ramanuja's Brahman, on the other hand, is essentially a personal God, the all-powerful and all-wise ruler of a real world permeated and animated by his spirit. There is thus no room for distinction between a *param nirguna* and a *param saguna* Brahman, between Brahman and *Iswara*. Sankara's individual soul is Brahman in so far as limited by the unreal *upadhis* or materials due to Maya. The individual soul of Ramanuja, on the other hand, is really individual ; it has indeed sprung from Brahman and is never outside Brahman, but nevertheless it enjoys a separate personal existence and will remain a personality for ever. The release from *samsara* or the worldly existence means, according to Sankara, the absolute merging of the individual soul in Brahman due to the dismissal of the erroneous notion that the soul is distinct from Brahman. According to Ramanuja, it only means the soul's passing from the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise where it will remain for ever in undisturbed personal bliss. As Ramanuja does not distinguish a higher and lower Brahman, the distinction of a higher and lower knowledge is likewise not valid for him ; the teaching of the Upanishads is not two-fold but essentially one and leads the enlightened devotee to one result only. Whatever the true philosophy of the Upanishads may be, there remains the undenied fact that there exist and have existed since very ancient times not one but several essentially differing systems, all of which lay claim to the distinction of being the true representatives of the teaching of the Upanishads as well as of the Sutras.

There being a diversity of opinion on this all-important question, *viz.*, the nature of the Brahman, the world and the soul among the various systems of Hindu theology and philosophy, it may not be out of place here to enquire what light has been thrown on the subject by Western philosophy, noticing points of agreement between the two. According to Des Cartes, the father of modern philosophy, in order to know God as far as our nature admits, we have only to enquire respecting any attributes whether it possesses an element of perfection or of imperfection and to admit or reject it accordingly. According to Addison, by adding infinity to any kind of perfection we enjoy and by joining all these different kinds of perfection in one Being, we form our idea of the Great Sovereign of Nature. Locke also holds a similar view. When we would frame an idea the most suitable, we can, to the Supreme Being, we enlarge everyone of these with our own idea of infinity ; and so putting them together make our complex idea of God.

Addison compares God and soul with the asymptotes of a hyperbola which draw nearer and nearer but never meet. As we have seen, this is also the view of Ramanuja who thinks that the soul cannot be merged in God in opposition to Sankara's doctrine of re-absorption.

But it does not require any long philosophical disquisition to arrive at the knowledge of God which is simple and self-evident. Such knowledge is intuitional and not derivative. As there must needs be different degrees of culture among mankind and as they are not gifted with equal intelligence, their responsibility as moral agents would seldom be compatible with the infinite Divine Justice and Mercy if their notion of God or Truth were to depend upon training. The perception of such truth or moral law is the function of conscience which cannot be educated. Conscience being immediate knowledge of such law, is not dependent upon training for its discovery, but training is necessary to reduce moral law to practice.

A family likeness between Eastern and Western conceptions of the nature of Godhead is evidenced from the fact that the Sankhya and Vedanta, the two principal schools of Hindu Philosophy comprehending the six Darshans, have their counterpart in the two European rival theories of Materialism and Theism. The Sankhya maintains the eternity of matter and its principal branch denies the being of God. The Vedanta derives all things from God and one sect denies the eternity of matter. All the Indian systems, atheistical as well as theistical, agree in their object which is to teach the means of obtaining beatitude or deliverance from all corporeal encumbrances. The state of society in India was not so bad as has been described by some English writers. The condition of the Sudras was much better than that of the public slaves under some ancient republics and indeed than that of the villains of the Middle Age or any other servile class with which we are acquainted. They were looked upon and treated by the Brahmans more as children and dependants than as conquered slaves.

Mr. Elphinstone has drawn the following picture of the Indian villagers and townspeople :—

"The villagers are everywhere an inoffensive, amiable people, affectionate to their families, kind to their neighbours and towards all but the Government honest and sincere. The townspeople are of a more mixed character but they are quiet and orderly seldom disturbing the public peace by tumults or their own by private broils. On the whole if we except those connected with the Government they will bear a fair comparison with the people of England. Their advantages in religion and government give them a clear superiority to our middle class and even among the labouring class there are many to whom no parallel could be found in any rank or order; but on the other hand, there is no set of people among the Hindus so depraved as the dregs of our great towns; and the swarms of persons who live by fraud—sharpers, imposters, and adventurers

of all descriptions from those who mix with the higher orders down to those who prey on the common people are almost unknown in India."

Civilisation to be perfect must combine the advantages of the East and the West, that is to say, spiritual perfection and material progress.

The evolution of a highly destined society must be moral ; it must run in the grooves of the celestial wheels. It must be catholic in aims. What is moral ? It is the respecting in action catholic or universal ends. Kant defines moral conduct thus : "Act always so that the immediate motive of thy will, may become a universal rule for all intelligent beings."

Civilisation depends upon morality, everything good in man leans on what is higher. Thus, all our strength and success in the work of our hands depend on our borrowing the aid of the elements. The forces of steam, gravitation, light, magnetism, wind, fire, serve us day by day and cost us nothing. "In strictness the vital refinements are the moral and intellectual steps. The appearance of the Hebrew Moses, of the Indian Buddha, in Greece of the Seven Wise Masters, of the acute and upright Socrates and of the Stoic Zeno,—in Judaea the advent of Jesus, and in modern Christendom, of the realists Huss, Savonarola and Luther, are causal facts which carry forward races to new convictions and elevate the rule of life."—Emerson on "Civilisation."

Morality and all the incidents of morality are essential, as justice to the citizen and personal liberty. "Countries" says Montesque, "are well cultivated not as they are fertile but as they are free ;" and the remark holds not less but more true of the culture of men than of the tillage of land. And the highest proof of civility is that the whole public action of the State is directed on securing the greatest good of the greatest number.

HINDU CASTE-SYSTEM.

THE rationale and genesis of the caste-system are to be found in the *Bhagavat Geeta*. Verse 41 of Chapter 18. runs thus :—

ত্রাক্ষণক্তিরবিশাঃ শূদ্রাগাঃ পৱনপঃ ।
কর্মানি প্রবিভক্তানি স্বভাবপ্রভবেণ্ণৈঃ ॥

The actions of the four castes - Brahman, Kshattriya, Vaisya, and Sudra—are divided according to their disposition and quality. That is to say, the principle of the division of society into castes or sections is based upon the nature of actions and qualities. And it stands to reason that there should be some test or differentiating cause for the classification of society. The *Geeta* then lays down the distinctive features of the four castes. Those of a Brahman are tranquillity, self-restraint, divine contemplation, forgiveness, candour, knowledge, experience and faith ; those of a Kshattriya are bravery, energy, firmness, skill, not to play the fugitive in battle, liberality, and dignity of deportment ; those of a Vaisya are agriculture, tending of cattle, and trade. The usual duty of a Sudra is service.

This general outline of duties forms the landmarks marking out the several castes. They qualify one to be ranked in one class or another. The possession of certain qualities or the pursuit of certain callings determines the nomenclature to be applied to a certain caste. So long as one possesses such qualities or pursues such callings it is reasonable and proper to confine him to a certain class of which such qualities or callings are its peculiar characteristics. But suppose a Brahman ceases to possess such qualities which entitle him to be ranked as such, in other words, he becomes *pait* or fallen in the language of the *Shastras* or adopts the avocations prescribed for the other castes, should he, in the interests of individual and social progress, be still called a

Brahman and continue to enjoy the rights and privileges appertaining to the rank of a Brahman? Again suppose a Sudra gives up his menial occupations, is found possessed of high moral qualities, or follows some honorable profession or calling, should we keep him in his degradation and not encourage him for his rectitude, intelligence, and diligence by promoting him to a class of which he is found deserving? The fact that *Rishi* Vishwamitra, a Kshatriya, was promoted to the rank of a Brahman, on account of his sanctity and learning goes to show that the Hindu *Shastras* do not present an insurmountable obstacle to such a promotion taking place.

Hindu society has undergone considerable changes as regards the manners and customs, the modes of living and of transacting business, of its members. Western ideas of civilisation have gone a great way towards modifying our primitive habits and practices.

Under such circumstances Hindu caste should be reorganised on broad and liberal principles. We are not for doing away with caste-distinctions and mixing society pell-mell. In the society of every nationality, constituted as it is at present, there must be Aryas and Sudras, Peers and Commons, Patricians and Plebeians, so long as education, which is the common leveller commencing from the higher orders, has not filtered down to the lowest stratum of society. Education and moral worth, and not the mere accident of birth, should be the standard of caste distinction.

This leads to the discussion of the question whether the institution of caste is divine or human. Did God with nice discrimination mark out a certain class as His chosen or elect in preference to others which were not deemed worthy of His favour? Did He stamp upon it a certain permanent badge of superiority such as the sacred thread to distinguish it from others? In other words, is a person born a Brahman or made one? We quote the following *sloka* for the solution of this problem.

জন্মনা জাগতে শূদ্রঃ সংস্কারবিজ্ঞ উচ্যতে ।

বেদপাঠান্তবেষ্টিপ্রা ব্ৰহ্ম জানাতি ব্ৰাহ্মণঃ ॥

A person is born a Sudra, he becomes a *dwija* or the twice-born by the performance of religious rites and sacraments, a *bipra* or the enlightened by the study of the *Vedas*, and a Brahman when he knows Brahma or God.

From this it clearly appears that caste-status cannot be claimed as a Divine gift as is erroneously supposed by some orthodox Hindus, but is simply a mark of distinction based upon occupation, learning, and character. The grouping of society into classes is based upon division of labour. Such a classification is artificial and not real, no calling or avocation as a means of honest livelihood should be condemned as ignoble ; each one is a link in the great chain binding together the multifarious divisions of society. Instead of being the causes of insuperable barriers, these callings should be so many bonds of union among all classes in our society — a union of hearts though not a union in respect of dining together or intermarrying with one another—a consummation of things which considering the present constitution of Hindu society is not easily practicable. It is only when through the influence of education, all classes attain a tolerably uniform standard of intellectual and moral excellence that perfect social equality is possible. What is demanded in the interests of civilisation and national advancement is that some classes of society as such should not be regarded as heaven-born and others as fallen. Neither the principle of indiscriminate universal brotherhood professing sympathy towards objects not deserving of it nor the extreme denationalising tendency producing habits of exclusiveness and estrangement, and hating every other thing, recommends itself to our judgment. The pretensions of the sacerdotal or Brahminical class expecting merely as such from all other classes to prostrate themselves before and offer it servile obeisance, are highly absurd. The official classification of

the people into the upper, the middle, and the lower classes of society, based upon money-qualification, is open to this objection, that it does not give due weight to the more substantial qualities of the head and heart. But looking at the matter more closely, it appears that this sort of distinction is perfectly innocuous in its effect, as it is required for statistical or descriptive purposes. It is not meant to imply disparagement of obscure merit or virtuous indigence. But the discussion of the question as to caste-distinctions, notably that of precedence between the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas, raised in connection with the present Census Operations, is not only useless but mischievous. The precedence or superiority of a certain caste does not consist in its nomenclature but in the possession of noble qualities of the head and heart of its members. The ultimate object of the social reformer is to introduce such improvements among all the classes as may result in a state of equality. But arbitrary caste distinctions or precedence of one caste over another based not upon intrinsic merit but upon vague traditional reports are not justifiable. A person succeeding to a very large fortune may justly be classed among the rich but not among the virtuous and good, if he lacks those noble qualities which distinguished his ancestor. For this reason the undeserved popular homage which it has become customary to pay to mere fortune is objectionable. The objects of such adulation are generally spoiled, as it takes away from them the strongest motive to rest the fame of their exalted position upon a sure footing. An heir succeeding to a large fortune surrounded by sycophants and toadies whom he would have put to blush if he had such culture of mind as to realise the emptiness of unmerited and interested applause, may dissipate his wealth in gambling, debauchery and reckless extravagance. Such silly and thoughtless commendation vitiates the public taste, impairs independent judgment, holds out a premium to indolence and imbecility, gives undue preference of fortune to merit, and thereby obstructs or retards social progress.

by withholding encouragement and support from men of sterling but unknown merit, through whose unappreciated philanthropic exertions and unsympathised noble sacrifices progress is effected.

That caste-system is a human institution is further proved from the historical account of the system which is summarised below from standard works of Indian History.

The caste-system was unknown to the Hindus in the Vedic Age and the only distinction then known was between the Aryans and Non-Aryans—between Hindus and barbarians. 'If,' says Professor Max Muller, "with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present time, form one of the most ancient religious teachings of the Vedas, we can answer it with a decided no. A comparison of the Epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, with the hymns of the Rig-Veda, shows at a glance how far the Gangetic Hindus of the Epic Age had progressed in civilisation as compared with their sturdy forefathers of the Vedic Age who lived in the Panjab. With the increase of civilisation, however, society became more luxurious and stagnant, and the distinction between the different classes of the Aryan Hindu population became fixed and hereditary. In the Vedic Period there were some families of priests who were known for their proficiency in composing hymns and performing sacrifices and who therefore followed this profession from generation to generation. When religious rites became more elaborate in the Epic Period such families increased in number and influence, until they were regarded as distinct from the ordinary people as a separate caste. They devoted their life-time to the performance of religious rites and they alone could perform them in all their increasing details and thus they acquired a sanctity in the eyes of the ordinary people. It was thus that they formed the Brahman caste, and though Brahmans continued to marry girls of other castes, they were too proud to give their daughters in marriage with

young men of lower castes. Similar causes led to the formation of the Kshattriya caste. The kings of the Vedic Age were little more than leaders of warriors and did not separate themselves from the people. But the kings of the Epic Age lived in august and pompous courts and were completely separated from the common people. As the royal and military classes became more and more surrounded by the pomp and circumstances of royalty and as the people became more and more submissive and enervated, the two classes became distinct at once and for ever. Maidens of the warlike classes would not condescend to marry men from the ranks, and thus the royal military classes formed the Kshattriya caste.

The body of the people—agriculturists, traders, and men belonging to different professions and industries—formed the Vaisya caste. And the aborigines of India, who had submitted to the Hindu conquerors and had adopted their language and religion, were still looked upon with contempt and called Sudras. It was thus that the caste-system was formed in India. It was unknown to the Hindus in the Vedic Age and was first developed in the Epic Age. It divided and disunited the compact body of the Aryan Hindus into three hereditary bodies, *viz.*, the priests, the soldiers, and the people. And it permanently placed the people under the priestly and military castes and thereby hindered popular progress and growth of popular freedom in India. It should be remembered, however, that with the exception of the priests and soldiers, the mass of the Hindu people still formed one united caste (the Vaisyas) in the Epic and succeeding ages. And the mass of the people were still entitled like the Kshattriyas and the Brahmans to perform sacrifices, to acquire religious knowledge, and to study the Vedas. But with the loss of their independence the Hindus have become more disunited in modern times. Every profession—like that of the goldsmith, the blacksmith, the weaver, and the potter—has become a separate caste;

and religious learning has become a monopoly of the priests. The caste-system as well as other customs underwent degeneration in the Pauranic Age. In the ancient days the Hindu Aryans were divided into three classes—the Brahmans, the Kshattriyas and the Vaisyas—and all these classes were entitled to study the Vedas and to wear the sacred thread. But the Kshattriyas and the Vaisyas who followed different professions were now divided into fresh castes, such as the Kayasthas, the Vaidyas, the goldsmith, the blacksmith, the potter, and the weaver and in the general ignorance of the times they were debarred from their ancient rights to acquire religious learning and wear the sacred thread. These ancient privileges were afterwards also prohibited to the generality of the Kshattriyas. The Vaisyas and the Kshattriyas were thus reduced to the level of the Sudras and were divided into numerous castes according to the professions they followed ; and religious learning thus became the monopoly of the Brahmans. A gross superstition was the result of this monopoly in religious knowledge—the knowledge which was the birthright of all Hindus for three thousand years, that knowledge without which a nation is dead.

Hindu society is divided into numerous classes, each class generally pursuing a different occupation or calling. Among the Mohammedans as with the Europeans the nature of a man's occupation does not create caste distinction. No doubt wealth confers respectability, but there is nothing to prevent a rich Mohammedan merchant from intermarrying or dining with a petty Mohammedan trader. Not only the primary castes, Brahmans and Sudras, but the endless subdivisions of the latter, on account of their following different avocations, stand aloof from each other in social intercourse. Weavers, potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, oilmen, washermen, barbers &c. are so many sub-castes. But it sometimes happens that some member of one of these classes, having received the advantages of English education, is a high Government official or a member of one of the learned

professions. In that case, not only he himself, but the other members of his family give up the hereditary calling. According to modern civilised notions of etiquette and respectability, he is a gentleman, while his caste-people are common labourers and workmen. The social problem which presents itself for solution is, whether, having regard to the interests of society, the existing custom requiring this gentleman to continue to associate socially with his tribe or clan should be rigidly followed, or should there be a departure from it, allowing him to obtain the social status of a higher circle to which he has entitled himself by his education and culture? On the one hand, no business so long as it is an honest means for gaining a livelihood, should be considered ignoble; on the other hand, the progress of society will remain stationary, or be retarded, if its advanced members are compelled to move in the narrow groove of their unenlightened circle, and denied the genial influence of social intercourse with men who are their superiors. Considering the pros. and cons. of the question the only conclusion which appears to us satisfactory is this :—that intellectual and moral culture, and not professional occupation, which is ceasing to be the hereditary and exclusive pursuit of a particular class, should be the standard of caste-distinction. Let us now point out some of the beauties and defects of the caste-system. No human system is thoroughly perfect. Allowing for the shortcomings of our limited range of vision and experience, the influence of passion or prejudice which clouds our judgment to see things in their true colours, the omnipotence of habit which is aptly called second nature tending to produce stolid conservatism unwilling to part with what it has been long familiarised, the best course for us should be to allow a system or practice to stand, if by balancing the advantages with its disadvantages, the former are found to outweigh the latter. The system should not be eradicated but pruned down and trimmed so as to afford room for future luxuriant and improved growth. The

thoughts and manners of the West permeate those of the Indian, and social revolution, without a healthy reform must be deplored when questionable canons are introduced into the system. Organisation and not disorganisation should be the motto in the adjustment of society, and it must needs be a matter for serious apprehension when *revolution* seeks to occupy the place of *reform*.

Any successful attempt at introducing social reforms depends upon the observance of certain rules or principles of action. 1. The welfare of society being the principal end to be attained by social reforms, only such reforms are salutary as tend to promote that end ; in other words, interference with existing customs is only justifiable, when it clearly appears that these are obnoxious, and that adherence to them tends to do harm to society. 2. That reforms to be salutary should be brought about in a spirit of earnestness, having regard to the actual necessities of the situation and not in that of mere innovation. Incompatibility with existing circumstances and conditions of the country is a good ground for interference. 3. That such reforms, should, as far as practicable, proceed from within and not from without. The dissemination of enlightened views as a consequence of liberal education, and not any legislative enactment, is the normal condition of genuine social reform.

As to know a disease is half the cure, we now proceed to point out some of the defects of the caste-system so that they may be removed in the light of the foregoing observations.

In the first place caste-pride deters most of its members from taking to pursuits which are useful and profitable, but which these snobs consider as menial and beneath their dignity. A certain class of the Indian people noted for a rigid adherence to their habits and customs, chiefly among the Brahmans and Kayasthas, which may be properly called the poor gentry, is imbued with notions of high pedigree so as to consider it a degradation to engage in menial occupations,

but at the same time is not educated enough to find employment either in the service of the State or the learned professions. Other poor classes, if they are deprived of one form of employment, can easily find it in another, but the class under consideration would suffer the worst extremities rather than subject itself to occupations against which it has a deep and inherent antipathy. Even the relief operations of Government seldom reach it on occasions of wide-spread famines. Sir William Hunter mentions in his "Annals of Rural Bengal" that during the famine of 1866 it was found impossible to render public charity available to the female members of the respectable classes, and many a rural household starved slowly to death without uttering a complaint or making a sign.

The same authority has pointed out the economic defects of the Hindu caste-system.

"Accustomed to look upon toil as a work of slavery, the Hindus (of the high castes) have never worked more than was necessary to supply their wants. Capital, therefore, the surplus of production above consumption, has never existed ; and in the absence of capital, any high advance in material civilisation is impossible. Another element of such an advance, co-operation, has been equally unknown. Division of labour, in its literal sense of giving to everyman a separate employment, has indeed been carried to its utmost length; but the division of labour in its economical signification as a method of co-operation has been rendered impossible by the contempt which divides man from man. On this subject false appearances and inaccurate names for these appearances, have led many writers into error. Division of labour as a term of Political Economy means a division of processes in order to produce an ultimate combination of results. Division of labour as predicable of Indian art or manufacture, means a division of results (each man being able to do only one thing) effected by a combination of processes (each man performing the whole of the processes requisite to produce the single result)."

Our social organisation and economy has been much affected by the influence of foreign civilisation to the detriment of our indigenous industries.

The levelling tendency of Western education is a potent factor in the poverty of the country. The men who were instrumental in the introduction of Western education into India fondly believed that that education would level up. They imagined that European literature and science would succeed in destroying the caste-system and thus in bringing about a fusion of the multifarious Hindu castes into one. All that European literature and science have succeeded in doing is making each separate caste into a social republic which owes only a nominal allegiance to the Brahmans, but which is thoroughly independent of the other castes. The wisdom of the West has succeeded in disintegrating, so far, the social polity of India. And it is doubtful whether any further disintegration is possible in this direction. At all events it is doubtful whether such disintegration will ever do any good to the Indian people. The results which have flowed from it are far from encouraging. For the results have been that the so-called lower castes, *viz.*, the castes which had hitherto represented the industrial classes, have forsaken and are daily forsaking the industries in which their fathers had excelled and are jostling with the higher or intellectual castes in the learned professions in the hope of becoming 'gentlemen.' The education of the West, it must be held, has brought in its train a snobbishness which, in times past, was entirely foreign to the Hindu nature, and the existence of which was impossible under the iron rule of the caste-system, as it stood in pre-British times. All this as much as the competition of the West is responsible for the death of our indigenous industries. There is no doubt of the fact that these industries were placed at a fearful disadvantage when they had to face the competition of the West, supported as the latter was by all the discoveries and appliances of modern science, which have taken captive the

forces of nature and are making them work for the benefit of man. But if we consider the situation calmly we must admit that, there were other causes at work besides the competition of the West. And not the least among them is the cause which we have indicated. In the present state of things, therefore, the only course left upon to our people is for the intellectual classes to take to some of the industries and thus show to the people that they are their real leaders. It is time for the intellectual castes to show by practice that their belief in the dignity of labour is a sincere and honest belief and not a mere sham.

By co-operating with the people the intellectual classes can not only promote the material prosperity of the country but remove all causes of strife and dissension among them. A disgusting feature of our rural society is *dalladali* or faction. If a villager violates any religious or social custom, and the whole rural Hindu community agree in thinking that his act amounts to an uncompromising repudiation of such custom on a very important point, he is excommunicated, *i.e.* intermarriage and dining with his caste people are prohibited. Washermen and barbers would refuse to serve him. If there is any difference of opinion as to the propriety of his conduct, his supporters and opponents form themselves into two opposite parties who cease to dine with each other. Such is the reverence paid to custom and the vigorous measures generally adopted to preserve it intact !

There are not only accidental but permanent causes of social division among the same caste people. For instance, the Brahmans are either *Rari* or *Varendra*, according as they are descended from the original settlers on the west or east side of the Ganges, *Koolin* or *Suritriya*, the former belonging to the fraternity of noble Brahmans, created by Ballal Sen, the last Hindu sovereign of Bengal, the latter not belonging to that fraternity. About 900 A.D. King Adisur of Gour, wishing to perform sacrifices for which the Brahmans of Lower Bengal were not competent, brought five Brahmans

from Kanauj. According to the purity of their descent from these emigrants and the places of their settlements, their descendants were called *Rari* or *Varendra*. The rival claims of the old and new settlers soon became a source of national disquiet, and two centuries afterwards Ballal Sen found it necessary to settle questions of precedence by a comprehensive classification of his Aryan subjects. Several mixed castes were divided from the followers of the Kanauj Brahmins, such as the Kayasthas. Koolinism which at one time proved to be a prolific source of scandalous polygamy, pecuniary exaction, and wretchedness of *Koolin* wives (many of whom having 80 or 100 co-wives could seldom see their husbands after marriage) has left its injurious traces only in so far as it relates to the extraordinary high fees leviable on behalf of a *Koolin* bridegroom. As the high qualifications which constitute a title to *Koolinism* are now seldom possessed by the descendants of the ancient houses of nobility, society led by the intellectual classes should see its way to remodelling the system with a view to prevent its abuse.

Now a point for an interesting enquiry is :—Do the Hindu societies, divided by social and caste distinctions, *dalladali* or party faction, and nice claims of noble descent, really form a compact nation possessing the necessary elements of national unity for political and other purposes? Sir William Hunter thus disposes of the question in his "Annals of Rural Bengal":—

"The Indo-Aryans have paid a heavy penalty for debasing the humbler children of the soil by that stagnation and incapability of national advancement which has formed the most conspicuous difference between them and other families of the same noble stock. They refused to share their light with the people who dwelt in darkness, and for ages any further illumination has been denied to them. For seven centuries has Providence humbled the disdainful spirit of Hinduism beneath the heel of barbarian invaders, grinding

together all classes of people as upon the nether mill-stone and slowly bringing on the time foretold in the Sanskrit Book of the Future, when the Indian people shall be of one caste and form one nation. That this time is not now far off no one who is acquainted with the Bengalis of the present day will doubt. They have about them the capabilities of a noble people. What they want is social amalgamation, to be effected not as the Sanskrit Prophet predicts, by the universal corruption of the Indian races, but as the Christian devoutly hopes, by their universal regeneration ”

A careful insight into Hindu society cannot fail to disclose real homogeneity amidst apparent heterogeneousness. It is erroneous to believe that the Indo-Aryans treated the Sudras after the manner of Russian serfs, Greek helots, or Roman plebeians. They were regarded more as children and dependants than slaves or conquered people. There was not that feeling of humiliation and self-abasement under foreign yoke, on the one hand, and that haughty, domineering and insulting deportment between natives and Anglo-Indians. The principal duty of Hindu Kings was to please their subjects and consult their real interests. They were looked up to as the natural leaders and rulers of mankind, and their authority was supported more by moral and spiritual force than by animal one. Their easy subjugation by marauding and plundering barbarians was not due to the discontent of their subjects, or want of social amalgamation, but to their apathy and indifference to material prosperity and self-aggrandisement, their heart being more bent upon securing a place in heaven, than upon consolidating an empire on earth. But whatever may have been the state of things in ancient times, it is evident that the Hindu castes, as they stand at present, are drawn towards one another by ties of sympathy and common religion. “The system of caste,” says Mr. Cotton, “far from being the source of all the troubles which can be traced in Hindu society, has rendered the most important service in the past and still continues to sustain

order and solidarity. The admirable order of Hinduism is too valuable to be rashly sacrificed before the Mollock of progress. Better is order without progress, if that were possible, than progress with disorder." The agitation in connection with the Consent Act has shown that caste-distinctions do not stand in the way of the Hindus uniting for the defence of their religious rights. The history of the Indian National Congress goes to show satisfactorily, that despite caste-distinctions and wide differences of race and creed, the Indians can unite nationally and constitutionally for the enforcement of their political rights. And as they have the privilege of living under an enlightened and liberal Government, whose declared policy is to mete out even-handed justice to all its subjects, want of social amalgamation (which means nothing more than absence of intermarriage and inter-dining) does not disqualify the educated Hindus from representing their countrymen in the Legislative Councils, the Local Self-Government, or the Judicial and Executive Administration.

But although caste-distinctions have not materially affected our capacity to unite for a common cause, it is no doubt desirable that with the progress of the castes, a sharp line should gradually cease to demarcate them. Experience shows that such a process is already going on though we do not seem to sanction or recognise it. Highly-placed and cultured Kayasthas or Sudras are practically more respected and honoured than ignorant Brahmins having no position. A Brahman confectioner or cook is certainly not held as a *persona grata* in comparison with a Sudra High Court Judge. We actually feel ourselves honoured by a visit from the latter but take no notice whatever of that of the former. And how are castes graded and ranked ? Certainly according to the degree of respect and prestige enjoyed by each. And if as a matter of fact a Sudra in certain cases commands greater respect and prestige than a Brahman, why should the caste of the former be lower than that of the latter ? Why should

the latter be allowed to plume himself upon his occupying a superior rank in society when such is not actually the case ? This raises a question of re-organising our social fabric, of pulling down and building up, of promotion and degradation. At any rate it furnishes a good argument for abolishing caste distinctions on the ground of the existence of anomalies under the operation of the system.

But apart from the question of such a thorough-going and wholesale change for which it is doubtful whether the Hindu society, as it stands at present, is ripe enough, it can safely be asserted that the time has come when intermarriage between and interfusing of the subdivisions of the greater castes are indispensably necessary. Such a step will greatly facilitate the marriage of a Hindu girl which is now beset with numerous difficulties and obstacles. As the professions and callings which gave rise to the creation of sub-castes have now, for the most part, ceased to be hereditary and permanent it is reasonable that with the disappearance of the substance, the name should disappear also. Is it not a misnomer for a person to be called a weaver when he has ceased to work as such but has taken to the craft of a carpenter ? And if after he has chosen to be called a carpenter, it becomes necessary for him to take to some other handicraft, he shall be again obliged to change his caste. Such constant changes and inconveniences will be avoided if he agrees to be included in one of the four primary castes from which he may be traced to have been descended.

The question of precedence among the castes must be determined having regard to the nature of the duties which they were called upon to discharge and which created them. The superiority of the Brahmins is founded upon the following legend. It is said that the Brahmins sprang up from the mouth of Brahma or the Creator, the Kshattriyas from his arm, the Vaisyas from his thigh, and the Sudras from his feet. The import of this mythology is that the Brahmins represented the brain-power, and the Kshattriyas

the physical power of the nation. The two other classes undertook to supply food and render personal service respectively. The duty of the Sudra was to serve, that of the Kshattriya to fight, and preserve public peace, that of the Vaisya to cultivate industries, and that of the Brahmans to look after the spiritual welfare of the people. By assuming priestly functions they renounced all claim to royal dignity. They were most competent to be the guides, rulers, and counsellors of kings, but they did not choose to be kings themselves.

We conclude this discourse by the expression of an opinion which may be gathered by a perusal of the foregoing pages that we are not opposed to the caste-system, but desire to have it improved so as to meet the exigencies and demands of modern society. We have noticed certain defects and excellences of the system and as the latter are found to outweigh the former, we would not destroy but foster and improve the institution. Among the advantages of the system, nothing deserves so conspicuous a mention as that noticed by Dr. Hunter.

"The system of caste," he says, "exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is in the first place a trade-guild. It ensures the proper training of the youth in its own special craft; it makes rules for the conduct of business, and it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings. The famous manufactures of mediæval India,—its muslins, silks, cloths of gold, inlaid weapons, and exquisite works in precious stones were brought to perfection under the care of the castes or tradeguilds. Such guilds may still be found in full work in many parts of India."

THE QUESTION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

OF late, the question of religious education has received a good deal of attention and consideration both from Government officials and non-official experienced educationists.* Lord Minto and Dr. Ashutosh Mookerji as Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor respectively of the Calcutta University in their Convocation speeches advocated religious education as the best means of making its recipients better men and loyal and orderly subjects. Mrs. Annie Besant thinks that there are three reasons for the necessity of religion: *1st*, it is a basis of morality, *2nd*, because it is an inspiration of art, *3rd*, because it is an incentive to the revival of original literature of a nation. We are told it is not enough that morality should be the basis of religion, since morality without the *imprimatur* of religion cannot have a binding force upon a people, that religion on the other hand has been among all peoples the basis of morality; that it is the foundation of morality, that nothing can shake the rock on which it can be built and never be removed. This ideal can only be realised when the various systems of religion now prevalent can be reduced to one universal religion based upon the common fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Unless and until this is recognised and followed how can the various conflicting and discordant elements in different religious systems be made the basis of morality? Religion may be considered under two general heads. The first comprehends what we are to believe, the other what we are to practise for the regulation of our conduct and the discharge of our duties. The one is the province of faith, the other of morality. Faith seems to draw its principal, if not all, its excellence from the influence it has upon morality and no article of faith can be true and authentic that weakens or subverts morality which is the practical part of religion.

Mr. J. P. Hopps addressing the members of the Brahmo Somaj and others at the Essex Hall, London, repudiated the Christian doctrine, "either Christianity or else no effective nationality." He asks, If England has its Christ, has not India its Buddha, his kinsman and counterpart whose life, teaching and inspiration are the replica of his? According to him what India needs is the following up of its sense of universality of the divine inspiration and guidance, or in other words, a religion which recognises the Universal Brotherhood which is the essence of all religions. He advises our countrymen to make religion, in its broad, and not sectarian, sense, the pivot of Indian unity. India that is to rise to greatness must esteem nothing nobler than manhood, nothing diviner than womanhood and nothing more religious than service in helping the common good.

Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair in his last Convocation speech at the Madras University urged on the graduates the necessity of devoting their learning and leisure to effecting social reforms. "You have to see," he said, "whether your social system is so inextricably bound up with your religion that it is not possible to adapt it to its new environments. You have to forge a new civilisation combining all that is good in Asia with all that is true and great in Europe. Brotherhood within Hinduism or among the various divisions of the Indian people is on the threshold to brotherhood among Hindus, Christians and Mohamedans. A revolution in social life is bound to produce acute suffering to its authors as well as to its victims but without sacrifice there can be no progress." It should be noticed, however, that neither Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, who lately expressed his views on religious education nor the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University are for introducing such education in State-managed colleges and schools. They think it may be left to home influence, to clubs and associations, to the Press and the platform to produce the desired effect. A dogmatic or dictatorial teaching in the

present age characterised by scientific and enquiring spirit will not do. Experience teaches us that it has failed in the past. There are certain matters in religion, such as those of revelation, tradition, faith &c. which the learner will be told do not admit of doubt or reasoning. Such a process will tend to smother the habit of youthful mind of forming independent judgment for himself. And as such a mind is susceptible to first impressions, if such impressions are wrong it will be difficult for him to eradicate them in after-life. They are likely to be deeply implanted in impressionable young minds which under their influence will take a wrong bent to last perhaps for life. Under such circumstances moral teaching and not the teachings of the doctrines or dogmas of any particular religion should be introduced in public institutions. As to the moral training of our young men, the existing system of education cannot but be considered as defective, inasmuch as there is an absence of systematic provision for such training. The Government of India sometime ago issued circular orders on the subject of moral training and discipline of students laying down provision on the following points :—Gymnastics and field exercises, punishment for breach of discipline, good conduct registers, hostels and boarding houses for students, the appointment of selected boys as monitors, teaching having direct bearing on the personal conduct, and removal of boys who at a certain age fail to rise to a certain class and inter-school rules defining the conditions under which pupils should pass from one school to another. It is not known how far these regulations have improved the morals of our youngmen, who should always bear in mind that both as to physical and moral training, much depends upon themselves. As they cannot become good athletes without subjecting themselves to systematic physical exercises, so their morals cannot be expected to be well improved without their leading moral lives. Study of the rules of gymnasium and morality is no doubt good in its way in

furnishing our youngmen with knowledge on these subjects ; but their morals can no more be improved by mere study of ethical text-books than a nation can be rendered virtuous by Acts of Parliament.

Moral training is the most indispensable requisite for the great secret of success in work of every kind. A grain of practice is worth a bushel of precepts. 'Honesty is the best principle, should be our motto. Meditation is of immense use in the sphere of morals. Many of the vices and misdeeds are due to thoughtlessness. Our faculty of conscience judges of what is right and wrong. But it often remains dormant unless roused to action by meditation and reflection. The voice of this monitor within is often drowned in the bustle and tumult of the world. Habitual disregard of its warnings as a consequence of want of thought is followed by a state of moral turpitude and depravity really deplorable. It is a grievous mistake to suppose that youth is not the proper time for the practice of virtue. It should not be deferred to old age. Mere perception of what is right and wrong and a resolution to do the one and to abstain from the other are not sufficient. It requires years and years of practice to constitute righteousness.

Education does not mean simply the culture of the intellect. It embraces the improvement of our physical, intellectual and moral faculties. Meditation has a large share in enlightening our mind and soul. It unlocks the treasures of psychological and moral truths. It is the best safeguard against immorality and vice. It leads to the formation of good character which is the principal object of education. It lays down more than anything else a broad line of demarcation between man and beast and keeps a working that monitor within which distinguishes between rectitude and wrong.
